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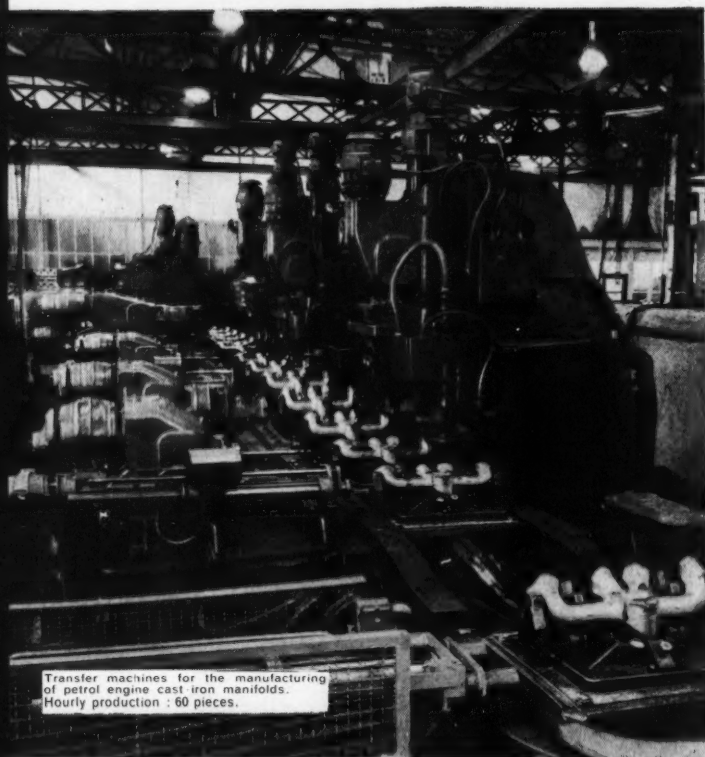
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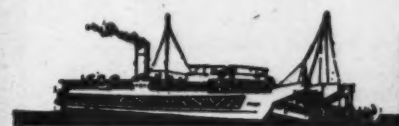
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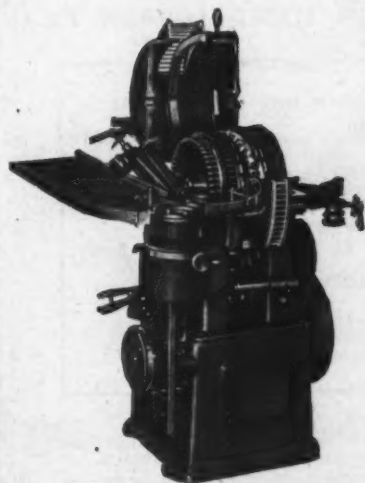
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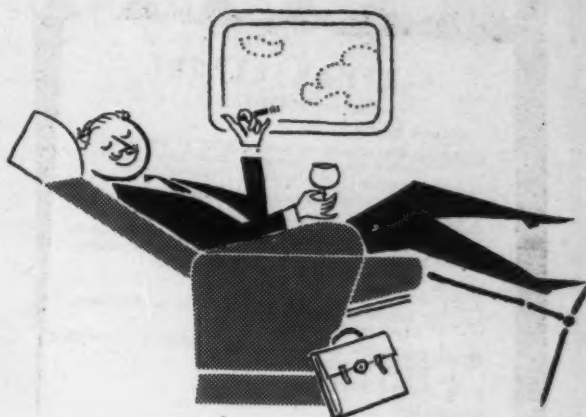


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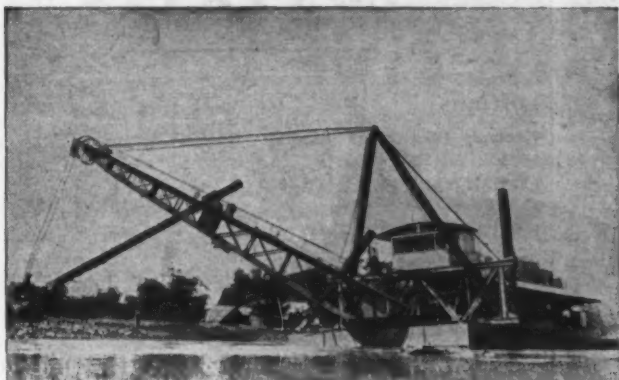
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The Editor does not hold himself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.

Front cover picture: Village women working on a self-help project in India. (Photo from "Women of India," published by the Publications Division, Government of India).

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Generals Take Over

ADMINISTRATION passing into the hands of the Army in Pakistan adds another to the list of countries which are now either directly or indirectly ruled by the military. Just before General Ayub Khan took over in Pakistan, Burmese affairs passed under the control of General Ne Win and the Army. There is a difference in the function each will perform, as is pointed out in our Comment on the next page. Nevertheless, is there not a similar reason for the assumption of power by the military? Examples provided by other countries might help to provide the answer. Although the Army has not taken over the reins of power in Indonesia, there is no doubt that since the upheaval there earlier this year the position of the Army, always an important factor in Indonesian political life, has been considerably strengthened. General Nasution is daily increasing his influence in his country's affairs, and many of the diplomatic posts in the countries immediately surrounding Indonesia are going to military men.

Nor are the examples of military rule or influence confined to Asia. Apart from France, where the Army was instrumental in installing General de Gaulle, we have witnessed the Army playing a vital part in the affairs of Egypt, Iraq, and Lebanon, all of which now have military men at the top. It would be an oversimplification to believe that similar circumstances in all these countries brought the military to a position of power. Yet to a greater or lesser degree it was a surfeit of politics or of corruption, or both, that created circumstances in which it was relatively simple for the Army to appear to the people as the saviour.

Many of the countries of Asia and the Middle East, because of the conditions of their growth, have failed to throw up a middle class capable of sustained political activity, based upon ideology and the theory and practice of political ideals. In this respect Middle Eastern countries have been rather more badly served than those of Asia. Under colonial rule many of the younger generation in Asia came to the West for their higher education, during which they absorbed many of the political theories and ideas current in the West.

In the Middle East this happened to a lesser extent. Islam formed the framework of their social and political development, and those with the wealth for higher education received their training in Islamic universities or educational establishments. They remained sons of the rich, retaining their master and servant outlook and were protected from the influences of western political thought. Because they had no firm theories which they could adapt to their own situations they failed to keep pace with the twentieth century. The modern armies of the Middle East, on the other hand, if they were to be effective at all, had to learn from the forces of the big powers. In this way they became the one disciplined and reasonably efficient feature of life. It was not, therefore, difficult for them to apply their discipline to social conditions.

In Asia matters are not exactly similar, because there politics have played a part in the life of the countries. In those countries the clean, barrack-square discipline and efficiency of the army has taken over because the politicians have failed. And the politicians have fallen short of their ideals because, with the slowing down of the surge of nationalist sentiments, they have been unable to adapt their political ideas to the social needs of their peoples. With populations largely illiterate, politicians must be more especially dedicated than their counterparts in the West where politicians have to account to a more politically enlightened rank and file party membership. In Pakistan especially, and to a large extent in Indonesia, politics had become a game played apart from the people whose needs politics was supposed to serve. In Indonesia signs are healthier because the adaption of political ideas to situations peculiar to Indonesia is exercising the minds of many of the younger politicians, and a straight take-over by the army is not likely, at least for the present. But corruption, a by-product of the political game, is rife in Djakarta, as it is in Karachi and many other Asian capitals, not excluding Delhi. Corruption is the biggest and most enervating disease suffered in Asia today, and it is to the discredit of politicians that they have been the founts of it. With India, politics has some sense of

purpose with clear cut definitions. It is less of a game, but what danger there is in India springs from corruption, especially at the lower levels.

It is a lack among politicians of the wider sense of purpose that has opened the door to military rule in Pakistan.

It is a confused sense of purpose and an absence of political sophistication that has done the same in Burma. The Army's barrack-square orderliness may have an initial appeal, but it has no long-term solutions. Only clean and dedicated politicians can provide those.

Comment

Mirza in the Saddle

THE news from Pakistan is grim indeed. President Mirza, with his declaration of martial law, has brought political life to an absolute standstill. The eleven years of internecine strife which in Pakistan passed for parliamentary government will give few people cause to regret its passing. Parties and politicians have been thoroughly discredited and driven from the scene. The President, while leaning heavily on the support of the Army High Command, is busy mopping up the last remnants of opposition. But having abrogated the Constitution of the 23rd March 1956 — which, because elections were not held and a representative assembly not elected, never came fully into effect — and banned all political parties, what does he propose to put in their place? What sort of fresh start is contemplated for Pakistan?

From suggestions that have so far been made in proclamations and during press conferences it appears that neither President Mirza, nor the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, General Ayub Khan, have yet fully realised the enormous task which they have set themselves. One does not expect political ideas to come from the conservative section of an army, least of all the Pakistani Army whose discipline, training and outlook has been traditionally British in inspiration. In fact General Ayub Khan's strength and popularity lay in the fact that he had hitherto refrained from meddling in politics. The Army was the one organisation not corrupted by the political system. The colonels, who have been so active in Middle Eastern policy, have always been looked on with disfavour by the higher ranks of the Army in Pakistan. (This is not to say that younger or middle-rank officers with political ambition do not aspire to the role of their Egyptian or Iraqi colleagues). But short of holding on to power indefinitely, which is not what General Ayub intends (from his statements), how can the Army produce any lasting change in the political life of the country? The analogy with Burma, where a situation somewhat similar to the one in Pakistan has developed in recent weeks, is a tempting one, but whereas in Burma the Army is merely acting as a caretaker government to see that free and fair elections are held next year, and political parties — the fount of new ideas in a democracy — continue to exist, in Pakistan the Army itself must start a constructive social revolution and introduce long delayed reforms. Will it be able to perform this role without being itself transformed into a "political" instrument?

Pakistan's problem has largely arisen because the Muslim League, after the death of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951, failed to hold together, and no other party filled the resulting vacuum. Mr. Suhrawardy's Awami League was

the nearest approach to a proper political party, but it had no standing in the western province, and its leader while in office set a bad example by acting at times contrary to his party's resolutions. The National Awami Party, an organisation far more radical than the Awami League, was faction-ridden, and there was little in common between its East and West Pakistan branches. The Republican Party, which President Mirza and the late Dr. Khan Sahib helped to create out of the shattered Muslim League, was unpopular in the west and non-existent in the east; and the Muslim League diehards, although they appeared to have shifted several degrees leftwards in recent months, were still as obscurantist and pan-Islamist as before. None of these parties provided a programme or leadership which both East and West Pakistan could support.

Yet this does not mean that Pakistanis have shown themselves incapable of being organised politically. For eleven years public opinion has not been consulted; this has not only tended to breed indiscipline and irresponsibility among party leaders, but it has prevented the masses from seeing that there were certain common issues which affected them equally, irrespective of their provincial or regional ties. The President, always unsparing in his ministers' shortcomings, remained in power by playing one side off against the other. In spite of his frequent condemnations of politicians and their practices, he turned out to be the most astute political operator of them all. It remains to be seen how he, on his part, will fill the vacuum where the parties failed.

He is not an intellectual politician or leader; politics as he sees it is a conflict not of forces but of men. The clash of personalities at the top had hitherto made it difficult for the administrative machinery to function smoothly. With the intervention of the Army, corruption and incompetence in government departments is being successfully tackled. These are short-term improvements; as long as the Army remains at the helm, it can help to consolidate them. But the long-term problem, of making Pakistanis aware of the social and economic issues of the mid-twentieth century, remains. We wonder whether the new regime and its leaders are any more aware of them than the civilian politicians they dislodged.

On to the Next Precipice

HAVING tacitly accepted the conditions of the Chinese cease-fire over the offshore islands, Mr. Dulles seems to have had second thoughts. It is unlikely that he will set his jaw and go back entirely on his reluctantly held belief that the Nationalists should never have built up their forces to provocative strength on Quemoy, but he is wriggling. He has stated that short suspensions of armed attack do not

provide a solid foundation on which to stabilise the situation. This is a "gimmick" designed to let the mainland Chinese know that he is not really retreating from his original position. He is like a man walking up a moving staircase that is going downwards, protesting in a small voice as he slowly descends.

This, of course, is all a face saving process. He wants to show the world that his friend and ally, Chiang Kai-shek, is not retreating, but withdrawing to regroup. The whole thing is being presented in military terms, whereas in reality it is a burning political issue. No one can deny that the Peking authorities have handled the case superbly. They have appeared to make a concession in extending the cease-fire. Indeed, they have; but it suits their case extraordinarily well to have done so. They are shown to the world as the patient but nevertheless determined, long suffering, totally ignored nation. The danger is that this bad psychological treatment of the monster child in the family of nations will have later repercussions.

One thing is certain, and that is that Communist China, with its 600 million people and great development capacity, is a more important factor in the running of world affairs than the discredited rump on Formosa. Chiang and his coterie is of no consequence, except as an inflammable nuisance factor, to anyone except a group of diehards in the United States, and the leaders of the slender regimes that have been conceived, born, and later flourished under Washington's wing. The one thing that has worried Chiang about John Foster's visit to Formosa is that the Secretary of State's recommendation to evacuate the offshore islands during the cease-fire will be constructed by the people in Formosa as a defeat, in spite of Dulles's belief that it can be made to look like a victory. But, in all honesty, who cares? If Chiang argues that his prestige will suffer to the extent where he has a revolt on his hands, then that surely gives effect to the Peking Chinese argument, which Washington would be daft to ignore, that the Nationalists do not carry the swollen population of Formosa with them.

The bigger argument is yet to come. What of Formosa itself? The world may well tremble at the thought of the future brink that Crusader Dulles will bring us all to over this problem. Surely the least America's allies could demand is that the US Secretary of State begins to deal in plausible policies instead of dashing from one precipice to another.

Japanese Headaches

THERE are signs that Japanese relations with China may begin to heal. It will be recalled that the "unofficial" trade agreement between the two countries broke down after a Japanese worker tore down the Chinese flag at a Nagasaki store. Japan's Prime Minister, Mr. Kishi, had also offended Peking by assuring Chiang Kai-shek that, though the agreement stipulated the right of the Chinese trade mission to hoist their flag, he thought "this occasion would not arise." The issue snowballed into an acrimonious debate and the Japanese Government, though officially regretting the incident, refrained from formally apologising to China as this would have gone against American wishes.

Now, however, economic pressure and public demand alike, have induced the Gaimusho (the Japanese Foreign Office) to declare that, from now on, the red flag of Peking would be "protected" in Japan, that Japan was not pursuing


a "two Chinas" policy and that she would neither stand for the idea of Formosan independence nor join any military pacts directed against China. This, considering Japan's large degree of dependence on the US, is a remarkable concession to her big neighbour and may have beneficial results for not only her political, but also economic relations with China.

The economic benefits, of course, are urgently needed by Japan. The boom she experienced as a consequence of the Korean war, has helped to give a wrong impression of the grave social and economic problems which Japan continued to face, and which seem, in fact, to be worsening. It is true that phenomenal profits were made by a limited number of Japanese industrialists, and that the period of 1957-58 was an excellent one. Industrial production increased by about 10 percent, and the value of exports was nearly 14 percent higher than the previous year. Yet, simultaneously, there was substantial unemployment and suffering. Now that the Japanese economy is definitely experiencing a slow-down, there are signs that the labour situation is deteriorating rapidly. Many big factories are closing down, and many more are cutting down production thus adding to the unemployment problem. Official figures put the number of unemployed at 510,000, but unofficial sources insist that the numbers of under-employed and mal-employed bring this figure up to between eight and 10 million. In addition, the labour force is continuously growing owing to the increase of population which Japanese industry cannot absorb. Japan's population last month was put at 92 million (or 250 per sq. km.) and is increasing at the rate of about one million a year. Japanese outlets, on the other hand, are shrinking owing to vigorous competition from South-East Asian markets, and because of lack of capital needed for the financing of long-term credits. Further, trade with China has come to a standstill owing to political complications, and no substantial alternatives have yet been discovered.

The first to feel the downward trend of business are, of course, the various categories of employees, and the current wave of strikes—some of them lasting for a considerable time and waged with despair and bitterness—help to stress the seriousness of the situation. Even if employed, the Japanese worker is living on a very low subsistence level. Wages are low, in many cases too low to meet the barest necessities, and working days are long, with little rest and no holidays. Owing to the still feudal attitude of Japanese industrialists, labour-management machinery is poor, and employees do not normally meet employers on an equal platform. Unemployed, however, are even worse off. They receive benefits of only 60 percent of their wages, but only for the period of six months. After that, they either starve or swell the ranks of under- or mal-employed who do not appear on the official lists of jobless persons. Actual starvation exists not only in the cities, but also in rural districts where agriculture, even at appallingly low wages, cannot afford to employ a fraction of the labour pool.

While Japan, therefore, is trying to gain markets for her products, she will also have to reorganise her labour policy in order to prevent more serious disturbances. It will thus be necessary not only to consider questions of economic, but also of social improvement. A better employment policy and a reorganisation of Japan's industrial structure is the first requirement. Japanese industry at present depends too

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much on small and medium-sized enterprises which, as sub-contractors, are at the mercy of big industry and frequently operate under almost mediaeval labour conditions. A guided development towards big industry with state-controlled labour and wage regulations cannot for long be postponed if internal unrest is to be avoided. The status and composition of trade unions, which have yet to acquire the experience necessary to shoulder their enormous responsibilities, should be fostered and not hampered. And, while the birth rate appears to have gone down somewhat lately, much more determined steps will have to be taken to limit the growth of population.

But Japan will not be able to cope with these vital internal problems without outside help. It is not only the underdeveloped countries which need international assistance. In this particular case, it is not industrialisation that is wanted, but markets for this "workshop of Asia." Japan has much to offer that is wanted by many countries which cannot afford to buy unless credit is given. International planning is called for in any case. It should include a fair share for Japan which, on her part, would have to see to it that a more enlightened labour policy will not only benefit a handful of shareholders in big industry, but lead towards better living conditions of the Japanese people as a whole. If this is not done, the world will have itself to blame if Japanese pressure again erupts outside or inside the country—or both.

Handshakes in Kabul

The five-day goodwill visit to Afghanistan at the beginning of October by Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, President of the Soviet Union, in the words of King Mohammed Zahir Shah spurred the "further development and strengthening of the friendly relations between our two neighbouring countries." Marshal Voroshilov arrived in Kabul at the invitation of the Afghan king, who visited Russia last year. As early as 1919, the young Soviet Republic was the first to recognise Afghanistan's independence. Since then it has been pursuing a policy of promoting Soviet-Afghan good-neighbourliness and cooperation. That policy has taken the shape of coexistence due to massive Soviet economic and technical aid which has opened the era of modern industrialisation of Afghanistan and began with the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit a few years ago.

By accepting "no-strings-attached" Soviet financial and industrial assistance, it cannot necessarily be said that Afghanistan is attempting to play a balance of power game in west Asia, nor does Afghanistan favour Russia to the detriment of the western powers. Yet the western powers,

particularly the United States which is also giving economic and technical aid to Afghanistan, dislikes Kabul-Moscow cordiality. The Afghan Government has adopted neutrality in order to prevent the country's involvement in power-political entanglements. Since the Soviet Union seems to be making no overt or covert move to undermine this fundamental national policy of Kabul, it is unfortunate that the United States should focus attention on the so-called "menace of Moscow."

The visit of President Voroshilov has demonstrated that though Afghanistan and the Soviet Union have incompatible national political ideas, the two countries can nevertheless be good neighbours, pursuing their respective national policies. The friendly speeches exchanged at a number of banquets and receptions and the frank talks held between the members of the Voroshilov Delegation and the Afghan officials clearly illustrates how a world power and a small neighbour can get along well.

Rising to the Task

OVER 800 financial experts from 68 countries—members of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Finance Corporation—meeting in New Delhi for their annual conference, submitted with good grace equally to the demands of Indian hospitality and the civilising influences of Mr. Nehru. Among the visitors were the finance ministers and heads of central banks of the member states, which include most of the "free world," but not the Soviet Union and China. It was thanks to Mr. Nehru, who remains the best possible public relations officer of the non-Communist world, that the conference was launched with a suitable note of socio-political philosophy.

The background to the meetings this year was provided by the creeping economic recession that is leading to the rise of economic nationalism and restrictive practices. The United States in this context speaks increasingly of the challenge of the Soviet economic "offensive." Mr. Nehru, in his welcoming address, told the visitors that the real challenge lies between the industrialised countries and the underdeveloped communities. In the final analysis, he said (in a widely and somewhat resentfully quoted comment), both the Communist states and the industrialised anti-Communist states "worship the same god of industrialisation." Addressing the West, he added:

The world is too closely related for one part to live in life apart from the other. Therefore, it becomes a problem for all of us, whether we are more fortunately situated or not, to see that these vast gaps are bridged, that these imbalances go and, broadly speaking, a feeling of contentment is created among those people today who are in such utter need of the primary necessities of life.

Such a purpose is unexceptionable, and both Britain and America, approaching it from different angles, earnestly suggest ways and means of increasing the investment of capital in the underdeveloped countries. Considerations of high state interest certainly have their place in present proposals, but opinions have begun to converge on the means to be applied. Organisations and individuals, like the Labour Party in Britain and prominent personalities in America, have urged for some time that industrially backward areas must be pulled up, even at some temporary sacrifice to the countries with a high standard of living. Proposals of this

kind are frequently condemned as "unpatriotic," but they have received considerable attention in the financial quarters of London and New York. Possibly everyone will now find that the Indian Prime Minister has provided the *mot juste* for the things they want, in spite of the widely different ends they seek.

At the Montreal conference of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers a month earlier, India's Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, voiced the Nehru premise that "the greatest international problem of our time" is the contrast between the living standards of the whole western world and the underdeveloped Asian countries. He stressed there that "the Commonwealth is the world in miniature." In New Delhi, Mr. Nehru enlarged the field of vision and said in effect that the non-Communist countries are the world in miniature. If the West, with democratic methods and financial resources, failed to rise to the task, "others will do it," he said.

No one objects to the proposals put forward by Britain and America to increase international loan funds, but it is doubtful whether the great powers and industrial countries are yet prepared to face all the implications of solving the problem. The suspicion is they will again do too little too late, as so often before, waiting instead for events to overtake them. The example of China's economic revolution is gunpowder to the "explosive state" of Asia referred to by Mr. Nehru. The New Delhi meetings of the international financial organisations may well mark the beginning of a transference of the "cold war" into the economic arena. If it is waged as a struggle against the industrial backwardness of the Asian countries, as Mr. Nehru indicates, this may not be a bad thing.

Sarit versus Sarit

THAILAND has hastened to conform to the new military pattern coming into fashion in Asia. As the author of the previous *coup* which sustained the former government, and as the most powerful man in the country, there was no need for him to overthrow himself, to protect the highly popular monarchy, or to defend the country from an imaginary Communist danger. But a new light may be shed on the Thai, Pakistani and Burmese "strong arm" tactics when certain rumours now prevalent at NATO Headquarters in Paris turn out to be true.

American officers there assert that US troops now stationed in Lebanon may soon be moving into Southern Persia with the agreement of the Iranian Government, which has already shifted army units to the North to make room for them. Visits of US Military Advisors in Iran have been connected with the imminent arrival of the American troops there.

Burmese Army Tactics

NOTHING could have been more Burmese in character than the manner in which the Army Chief of Staff moved into a position of power in Burma. Although U Nu, the Prime Minister, made the announcement himself that he had invited General Ne Win to become head of a caretaker government and "to make arrangements essential for holding free and fair elections within six months," there is no doubt that his action was the result of insistent pressure



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from the Army.

The political situation in Rangoon has been little short of farcical since the ruling party, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, split in two six months ago. There has been the unedifying spectacle of two parties, both refusing to drop the popular AFPFL label, opposing each other in parliament, and trying every means behind the scenes to intimidate each other. Now that elections are laid down for next April the two AFPFL factions will compete at the polls. It is not at all clear what their respective policies will be, or under what titles the parties will present themselves.

Matters have been slowly coming to a head in the past months with the group led by U Nu and a former Deputy Prime Minister, Thakin Tin—known as the "Clean" AFPFL—pushing ahead with the policy of appeasing the Communist rebels with the purpose of bringing them out of the jungle to play a legal part in the country's politics. The other AFPFL group, led by two more former deputy Prime Ministers, U Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein, have watched with increasing alarm as the pro-Communist party, the National United Front, has increased its strength and influence. At the same time the People's Comrade Party, a Communist group formed from those who have surrendered, has grown up under the wing of the Nu-Tin faction. This "clean" faction has found it necessary to enlist the support of these extreme left wing elements as a counterweight to U Ba Swe's Congress of Trade Unions. Getting the Communists out of the jungle so that they would be able to take a legal part in the country's political life would, under normal circumstances, be a welcome measure, but in the present state of political rivalries, the Communists were able to play a key part. They have, in fact, chosen to remain in the jungle until the time came when they could profit from a confused situation.

It was only to be expected that the Army, who have spent 10 years campaigning against the Communist rebels, would be upset by the position the insurgents were creating for themselves in Burmese political life. It has never been a secret that many officers in the Burma forces, although avowedly non-political, have supported the democratic socialist ideals of the AFPFL, and they now see these principles threatened by the growing strength of the extreme left elements encouraged by the Nu-Tin group. Being well

aware of this it is probable that U Nu's "clean" faction took steps to forestall the possibility that the Army would, through a *coup d'état*, install the Swe-Nyein group. There were rumours that those who had only recently emerged from the jungle were to be re-armed as a counter measure. With matters reaching boiling point, and Burma on the point of a take-over by the extreme left-wing, U Nu very neatly got himself out of a difficult position (which he himself could not have been very happy about) by yielding to Army pressure and appointing General Ne Win.

Giant Strides in China

IN celebrating its ninth National Day early last month, China also took stock of the phenomenal achievements of the past year. The reports published for the occasion drew a breath-taking picture of human potentialities, given a determined and dynamic leadership. The past twelve months have shown successes surpassing all that went before in agriculture, industry, and social change. China's "year of the big leap" has no parallel anywhere in history, and it is as significant for the outside world as for China.

Right from the start, in October 1949, the new state of China astonished the world with its boldness in techniques and inventiveness. Few will have forgotten the first universal surprise at the Red Army's discipline, and the speed with which it brought order out of the chaos left behind by Chiang Kai-shek's rule. This was followed by Peking's success in checking run-away inflation, a chronic food shortage and perennial floods, in cleaning up cities, and bringing to the people a sense of unity. China's military prowess in Korea and diplomatic skill in Geneva and Bandung came as a surprise to the world, as newspaper reports at the time bear witness. Keeping pace with, and lending stability to, its foreign policy was China's new construction and economic rehabilitation.

The State Statistical Bureau on September 30 reported on the news continuously pouring in "from all fronts of the national economy" of the unprecedented speed at which industrial production has shot up. British businessmen and others returning from China have been taken aback at the pace. Total industrial output in the third quarter of this year almost doubled that of the same period last year.

Letters to the Editor

VINOBA BHAVE

Sir,—We must congratulate Mr. C. R. M. Rao on his skill in extricating himself from untenable positions.

In his original article he stated that the "logic" of renouncing personal possessions was to "retreat to the Himalayas." He has now changed his ground and says that this "logic" worked quite differently for Gandhi and Vinoba. Why other people would be better off in the Himalayas is still not clear.

Bhooan, we were told, "cannot be regarded as a democratic force, except in a negative sense." In his reply to our criticism of this amazing statement we are

now told that the writer "had in mind" those who saw Bhooan as a protection against Communism. The original statement was not so qualified, and Mr. Rao still does not explain why the provision of land for the landless should be regarded as a purely "negative" contribution to democracy.

Worst of all, having originally accused Gramdam of "making short shrift of democratic virtues," he now attempts to justify this statement by an attack on Communist cooperatives. His "re-arrangement" of a quotation from Vinoba to imply that Indian peasants are forced into cooperatives by the Gramdam programme is a point on which he is dis-

creetly silent. We are still waiting to know what Vinoba really said.

These are all matters of simple fact. The rest of Mr. Rao's letter can be regarded as padding, except for one expression of opinion. He defends his indictment of Bhooan as "popular and dramatic" by asking, "What is drama if not mostly make-believe and affectation?" Well, of course, it *could* be. But it could also be the means whereby a great campaign captures popular imagination. We gather that, even so, Mr. Rao would regret the dramatic quality which helps people to see, feel and understand what is going on. In that case there is no more to be said.

Yours faithfully,

ETHEL MANNIN
REGINALD REYNOLDS

London, S.W.19.

Something like 50 million people were engaged in the nationwide campaign to double last year's steel output. In 1952, China produced 1.35 million tons, in 1957, 5.35 million, and this year the target is 10.7 million. According to the Bureau report, the campaign for a "technical revolution" went further in the third quarter "on the basis of continuous emancipation of people's thinking and the breaking down of the 'mystery' surrounding technique."

Doing away with mystery seems to be the prevailing mood. It is the chief meaning of Mao's hundred flowers speech, misunderstood outside China. In agriculture, production has been doubled. The grain output this year is estimated at over 350 million tons, nearly double that of last year and more than three times the peak year before the overthrow of the Chiang regime. The average production of grain per person will this year reach half a ton or more. Cotton production will be 3.5 million tons, more than double that of last year, and 850 thousand tons more than the estimated 2,626 thousand tons of American output this year. China is now the biggest cotton-producing country in the world. Similar successes have been registered in almost every field of production. The value of industrial and handicraft output will, it is estimated, be more than 60 percent above last year's, thus far exceeding the average annual rate of 19.2 percent for the first Five-Year Plan period, as well as the

top rate of 33 percent for the best year of that period.

China enters its tenth year in the confident anticipation of still greater achievements. The movement for "people's communes," a kind of joint ownership and distribution going far beyond the cooperatives, has grown spectacularly. Up to the end of September, 640,000 agricultural cooperatives transformed themselves into 23,397 people's communes, embracing 112,240,000 peasant households, or 90.4 percent of the total.

In this vast mass enterprise, which presents almost the character of an elemental force, there must inevitably be aspects, probably not fully revealed even in China's admissions and "self-criticisms," of errors, backsliding and uneconomic cost. A masterly organisation, and high-powered education and propaganda systems have undoubtedly generated a sense of unity and enthusiasm in the people, in which any incidental and perhaps temporary reduction in democratic rights may well seem to them of secondary importance. Economically the cost of producing steel in thousands of primitive furnaces, and the revival of indigenous processes in many other industries, though swelling the total production, must be excessive. Yet every cost has its compensations. Within a very few years, probably early in the sixties, the world will have to recognise China as the third of its giant powers, and perhaps only a decade or so later, as the primus of them all.

Central Asia: Recent Developments

By W. K. Fraser-Tytler

RECENT events in the Middle East have given rise to some speculations as to the possible spread of similar revolutionary fervour throughout central and southern Asia. Such speculation is natural and indeed inevitable, but in making it account must be taken of the special factors which have contributed to the present instability of the Middle East.

These factors are, in chronological order, the disruption of the Turkish Empire after the first World War, the establishment of the State of Israel, the withdrawal of British power from India, and the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact. Of these the disruption of the Turkish Empire led to the formation of a number of new, untried and politically unstable Arab states. The intrusion on to the perimeter of the Arab world of the unwelcome and alarmingly efficient state of Israel consolidated Arab sentiment, and gave the Arabs a standing grievance against Britain and America which they regarded with justification as responsible for the whole business. The withdrawal of the British from India was not only a shattering blow to the stability of Asia, but also deprived the British themselves of that long line of devoted servants, whose training and experience of oriental way of life and habit of thought had proved so invaluable in the past. And lastly the Baghdad Pact, though in itself a praiseworthy attempt to fill to some small extent the vacuum caused by the disappearance of British power from Asia, led by the very manner of its establishment, to a riposte from Russia.

Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler, KBE, CMG, MC, Order of Astor (Afghanistan), served first in the Indian Army, and finally as British Minister to Kabul. He is one of the foremost experts on Afghanistan and Central Asian questions.

Of these various factors, the only one which has had a direct political influence on central Asia generally, and particularly on Afghanistan, is the profound change which took place in India in 1947, when the British handed over their responsibilities in southern Asia to Pandit Nehru and Mr. Jinnah. The transfer of power was inevitable, in the circumstances of the time; the consequences which flowed from it were also inevitable, though I am much inclined to doubt whether those who were charged at the time with the shaping of India's destinies had any real appreciation of what would be the effects of their actions.

For, to understand what British control of India really meant to the stability of the world in general and of southern Asia in particular, one had to be outside India, so as not to be deafened by the roar of the great machine of internal government, and the raucous cries of the politicians as they hurled spanners into its works, and yet not so far from India as to treat the great sub-continent as an abstraction, merely a piece, if a large one, on the chess-board of human affairs.

From Kabul, sitting as it were on the roof of India, one could hear a dull, deep murmur from within the great house beneath, but was chiefly conscious of the vast open spaces above the roof, whence had come all but one of the human deluges which had descended on India through the centuries. It was there that one was very conscious of the fact of British stability, the framework on which the whole political future of Asia depended. It is difficult to define exactly what is implied by British stability. At home it is the stability of the people rather than of the Government which makes us in this island the most civilised people in the

world. In India it was the other way round. The rule of a benevolent and impartial oligarchy, supported by the most efficient and upright body of administrators the world has ever seen, gave for a time to India an immense moral and physical strength, qualities far in advance of any of her neighbours. But only for a time; such a Government, imposed by aliens, can only be temporary, and the better the Government, the speedier the reaction against it on the part of the indigenous inhabitants of the country it governs. The transition was inevitable, but the manner in which it was carried out was deplorable, and the people of the sub-continent were fortunate indeed in possessing two such men as Nehru and Jinnah to guide them through a most difficult period.

In India's nearest neighbour, Afghanistan, the effect was also profound. The Afghans are a free people, and immensely proud of their freedom, won for them from the British by Amanullah only 28 years before. But, in the long run, strategic and geographic facts are more important and carry more weight than treaties. The presence of the British in India was of immense importance to world stability in general, and to Afghanistan in particular. Her continued existence in the past had depended on her fulfilling the role of buffer state, her frontiers respected and her integrity guaranteed, not so much by treaty, as by the strategic importance to the peace of the world that they should not be violated. Such stability can however be maintained only when the balance of power of the supporting states is in equilibrium. When, as in Asia in 1947, equilibrium was entirely upset, the effect is likely to be profound and prolonged.

Afghanistan was left in the air, her role of buffer state taken from her overnight; above her loomed the sinister shadow of the Russian bear, beneath her was a vast political vacuum, into which no one, in August 1947, knew what would pour. It is on the whole not surprising, though perhaps regrettable, that her political strategy in these circumstances underwent a considerable change. No one in the autumn of 1947 could fortell what would be the outcome of the division of India; it was not unnatural that Afghanistan whose Foreign Minister had once remarked, "We know what the Durand Line is, but what would the Gandhi line be like?" should try to ensure against the future by seeking to regain a frontier on the Indus. It was also not unnatural that the gateway from the north, firmly closed for more than half a century, should be opened to allow the entry of Russian technicians and advisers to assist in the development of Afghan resources. Whether such infiltration has reached dangerous levels it is impossible to say, without very much more first hand information than the present writer possesses. It seems probable, however, that the Afghan Government are relying on the xenophobic tradition of their people, coupled with an efficient intelligence service, to ward off any serious attempt at Communist indoctrination, in the areas north of the Hindu Kush. It remains to be seen how far these factors will in the long run prove efficacious. Meanwhile the Americans, in pursuance of their policy of rendering aid to undeveloped countries as a counter to Communist penetration, have embarked on an extensive scheme of development of the Helmand river basin.

It is not possible, in the space of a short article, to appraise the efforts of these two great antagonists, in their struggle for the future of this vital bastion of southern Asia. But this much can be said. American aid, though

invaluable as a support, cannot of itself replace the foundations of stability destroyed when the British left India. This can only now be done by the people and the Governments of the countries themselves, and principally by the great Republic of Pakistan.

For ten years relations between the Afghans and the Pakistanis have been bedevilled by the Afghan claim to a frontier on the Indus, for this, in fact, is what the case for Pakistan amounted to. When it was first preferred, in 1947, it was, as I have said, a not unnatural blend of Afghan irredentism and of genuine alarm as to the future course of events in the country beyond the Durand Line. The claim was patiently but firmly resisted by the Pakistan Government, and in the event it was shown to be unnecessary and indeed absurd. Little has been heard of it in the last two or three years, and an exchange of visits between the rulers of the two countries suggest that this unhappy source of friction has been quietly buried.

The time would now appear to be ripe for a closer union between the Islamic countries which form the main defence against Communist penetration to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. A recent speech by Malik Firoz Khan Noon, then Pakistan Prime Minister, indicated that the statesmen of Pakistan are thinking along these lines. For in it he propounded a plan for the federation of Pakistan, Persia and Afghanistan, whereby the countries concerned, in agreeing to federate, could, while maintaining their sovereignty, "reduce their defence liabilities, and sign perpetual peace treaties with all in the interest of the people's welfare."

Ten years ago, when considering the relations between Afghanistan and the new state of Pakistan, at the conclusion of a survey of Central Asian affairs, I wrote: "These two states, closely integrated, prosperous and peaceful, would have a notable part to play as forming a powerful eastern bastion to the long line of Islamic states which stretch from the Bosphorus to the Pamirs."^{*}

We have waited a long time for a sign that the rulers of these two states were beginning to realise, amid the welter of local conflicts and petty disputes, the overriding importance of unity and strength among the free nations, in the face of the deadly, insidious peril of Communism. Now that the first sign of this has come, it should be welcomed by western statesmen, who should, however, be careful to appreciate that this is an Islamic affair, in which they can only participate by invitation, and perhaps not even then. Much can be done to help to smooth out the path of negotiations, if and when this stage is reached, and invaluable practical support can be offered, but this can only be done behind the scenes, and with the ever-present realisation that the days of western leadership in eastern affairs are past and done. This fact has been hard for the British to realise, the urge to lead, to butt in and push others out of the way, to know better what people want than they do themselves, is pre-eminently a British, or more accurately an English characteristic. This, and their integrity, have made the British the finest administrators in the world, and it is not easy for them to adopt the new role of advisers and supporters, while leaving the task of leadership to others. But it is possible that they, and it may be hoped the Americans also, have learnt from recent experiences that Asia is going its own way, whether they like it or not, but that this way need not necessarily lead along the path to Communism.

^{*} Afghanistan — A Study of Political Developments in Central Asia.

ASIAN SURVEY

BREAKDOWN IN PAKISTAN

From Our Special Correspondent

PRESIDENT Mirza's sudden decision to abrogate the Constitution, dismiss the central and provincial governments, dissolve the legislative assemblies, disband all political parties and place his eighty million countrymen under military rule will have thoroughly destroyed the illusions of those optimists who had persisted in the belief that Pakistan's first general elections in eleven years would, after all, be held next February.

Instead, the President is hoping to rule indefinitely with the aid of the army while a new Constitution is prepared which he will then submit to a referendum. He has divided Pakistan into three zones—Karachi, West Pakistan and East Pakistan—with a General Officer Commanding in charge of each zone. Martial law regulations are being strictly enforced and while the Supreme Court and other courts are allowed to function as before, they will not be allowed to challenge the legality of the new administration's proclamations in matters relating to martial law.

The weeks preceding the President's proclamation had seen violent and unruly scenes in both eastern and western sections of the country. In East Pakistan, fighting had broken out between members of the ruling Awami League and the opposition Krishak Sramik party during one of the provincial assembly's sessions; a motion was carried declaring the Speaker, Mr. Abdul Hakim, insane, while the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Zahid Ali, died from injuries he received during a *melée* in the hall. In Karachi, a ban was placed on assemblies of five or more persons and tear gas was used by the police on a huge crowd which had gone to the Central Station to receive the Muslim League President, Mr. Abdul Quayyum Khan. The League leaders, who have been out of office since September 1956 (except for a brief spell from October-December 1957 in Mr. I. Chundrigar's cabinet) were in a particularly agitated mood. In the past year they were busy repairing the shattered party organisation; they had put forward a programme of land reform for West Pakistan which, though vague, did seek to bring the controversy over this vital question on to the platform. Above all, they were clamouring, somewhat mistakenly, for a more "Muslim" foreign policy, and trying to gloss over differences that had arisen between Pakistan and the United Arab Republic.

Meanwhile, the hapless Prime Minister and leader of the Republican Party, Mr. Firoz Khan Noon, was seeking to widen the basis of his coalition government. Mr. Noon had become Prime Minister in December 1957 with the support of the Congress and some smaller parties, but neither the Muslim League nor Mr. Suhrawardy's Awami League (the largest single group in East Pakistan) had entered his coalition. The administration's position, in spite of the much-declared fact that it was merely a caretaker government before the election, was far from secure; the Republicans' electoral prospects were poor, and in his own

party Mr. Noon was in disagreement with some of his colleagues, notably his Finance Minister, Mr. Amjad Ali over the question of development expenditure. Being dependent on the tacit support of the Awami League for the life of his government, Mr. Noon was anxious to see that the Awami League ministry in East Pakistan provincial assembly was not dislodged by the Krishak Sramik Party. After a particularly confused session of the provincial assembly during which it seemed at one moment that neither side had a clear majority, and a brief spell of direct Presidential rule from Karachi, the Awami League ministry led by Mr. Aatur Rahman Khan was restored in Dacca. Notwithstanding this setback, the Krishak Sramik leader, Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury joined the central government and was given the important portfolio of Finance (while Mr. Amjad Ali was attending the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' talks in Montreal). Then early in October, six Awami League members also joined the government, but walked out four days later. At this point President Mirza, who, it is said, was anxious at one stage to include the Awami League in the Government, took matters into his own hands.

While the President and the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, General Ayub Khan, are in complete control of the country, they have given no very precise information about the sort of reforms they wish to introduce. Measures such as the imposition of severe penalties for black marketing, hoarding, smuggling, bribery and corruption are bound to please the long-suffering public—(prices in Karachi dropped within a week of the *coup*). Several former ministers and top ranking administrators are under arrest for corrupt practices; others, chief among whom are Maulana Bhashani, the moving spirit behind the leftist National Awami Party, and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who was agitating for the break-up of the "one-unit" arrangement in West Pakistan, appear to be political detainees. The regime's hold over the nation will, after its immediate impact has been lessened, depend largely on its social and economic policies. In East Pakistan, particularly, where the cry of "provincial autonomy" has always been popular, the situation must be handled with a great deal of understanding. In West Pakistan, the large estates must be broken up for both political and economic reasons.

President Mirza, who is a firm believer in Pakistan's participation in pro-western defence pacts, has never relaxed his control over foreign policy. As a result, although successive ministers have followed his line while in office, some of them have criticised it afterwards. Thus there seems to be a certain amount of popular support for a neutralist policy which these undisciplined party leaders have tried to cash in on; it is important, therefore, for the President to enlighten public opinion on this subject. Regarding India, the new regime, in spite of its authoritarian set-up, is in a better position to seek a negotiated settlement.

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India

Food Shortage

From a Correspondent in Delhi

The unsolved food problem has taken a critical turn due to acute short-supply position in most of the states. The zonal distribution system does not seem to be operating satisfactorily. The foodgrain stocks maintained by the various state governments and the Government of India have become so low that the country has been obliged to buy wheat and other staple products from Canada and the United States. Although these purchases will meet the short-term needs, they will not facilitate the solution of the chronic food problem. The successful realisation of the second five-year plan food production targets, better distribution systems, strict control of prices and improvement and expansion of the food processing structure will go a long way to combat the food shortage. The short-supply position apart, the latest scarcity is due to a succession of floods and droughts and inefficient and defective handling of the food situation both by the state administrations and the central Government.

The report of the West Bengal Food Inquiry Committee appointed by the West Bengal Government, clearly reveals the official "shortcomings" in handling the food situation. It points out the defects in the governmental machinery responsible for implementing the food policy. Despite the lack of accurate figures, it can be reasonably said that the shortage has severely affected the living of 60 to 80 million people, mostly in the rural areas of West Bengal, Assam, Kerala, Bihar and central and western states of India. Recently, opposition political factions and leftish elements staged a series of food demonstrations in cities as well as in district areas and villages demanding immediate relief. Since the state and Central administrations have now taken steps to improve the food situation, the demonstrations have been called off and several thousand demonstrators taken into custody released. In certain rural areas of West Bengal and Bihar, the two states which have been hard hit by the food crisis, famine conditions are prevailing. It is estimated that 400 to 800 people have died of starvation. Strangely enough, Orissa and Andhra, the two food surplus regions of India, have sizable surplus stocks which they are now trying to sell to food-deficient areas.

Under an agreement with the United States, India has bought from that country 2,800,000 tons of wheat, 100,000 tons of maize and 200,000 tons of grain sorghums valued at \$238,800,000. This is the third surplus commodities agreement between the two countries. It has brought the total value of United States surplus farm products sold to India since August 1956 to an aggregate total of \$664,200,000. The repayment is to be made in Indian rupees. An agreement has also been reached for the purchase of 141,000 tons of wheat from Canada, which was due to be shipped to India by the end of October. The shipping of American grains, too, was due to begin in October. The new purchases will enable the Central Government to maintain a constant flow of foodgrain supplies to deficient areas. In addition the possibility of getting wheat from Australia was being investigated.

To meet the immediate food emergency in West Bengal the Government of India agreed to furnish that state with an additional 10,000 tons of foodgrains for October, the allotment for which month was 110,000 tons. From October to December Assam was due to receive from the Centre 402,300 maunds (one maund equals 80 lbs.) of rice and 405,000 maunds of wheat. At the end of September it had in stock 148,500 maunds of rice and 296,289 maunds of wheat. Bihar received 357,082 tons of foodgrains from the Centre till September 17 out of a total allotment of 384,636 tons of foodgrains for the April-October period. The stock held by the Bihar state administration was 2,610,358 maunds. Like West Bengal, Bihar will receive substantial additional supplies from the Centre in the coming months to relieve the scarcity situation. Kerala appears to be urging the Centre to supply it with 24,000 tons of rice a month. On the other hand, Andhra has now in hand a surplus of 800,000 tons of rice as against the total requirement of 850,000 tons for the entire zone of the southern states. Since at the end of September the rice millowners of Orissa held large stocks of paddy and rice, they have urged the administration of the state to find an outlet for the surplus foodgrains chiefly to maintain the current price level. Meanwhile the new Orissa crop, expected to be a bumper one, will be coming into the market some time in November.

Ceylon

Government Under Pressure

From Joe A. Perera
 (EASTERN WORLD Colombo Correspondent)

Political life in Ceylon, which was dormant after the state of emergency was declared in May, has been partially revived with the lifting of certain of the Emergency Regulations, following public pressure. No sooner were these Regulations, which cramped political activity in the country, lifted than all political parties save those proscribed, celebrated their "freedom" with a series of island-wide public meetings, where scathing attacks were made on the Government's inability to provide a stable Government for the country. The Trotskyites and the Conservatives spear-headed the attack challenging the Government to lift the state of emergency, as they saw no valid reason for its prolonged continuance.

Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, has indicated that he has no intention of lifting the emergency for quite some time, as he fears a recrudescence of communal rioting. This view of the Government has, however, not found popularity with the masses who are content to believe, as made out by the Conservatives and the Trotskyites, that the sole reason for the continuance of the state of emergency is so that the Government can stifle political opposition and rule by a dictatorship.


This view was endorsed by the Government itself in the recent debate in Parliament where an Opposition motion calling for the complete repeal of all Emergency Regulations was defeated by the steam roller majority of the Government. The Prime Minister, who was the chief Government spokesman, gave a very poor performance and, indeed, made a poorer case for the continuance of the Emergency. He was unable to name any persons or organisations which he stated earlier were responsible for attempting a *coup d'état* to overthrow the Government. This proved that the Prime Minister had no valid reason for the continuance of the Emergency save his own fears that the prevailing state of dissatisfaction in the country would be harnessed by his political opponents to defeat the Government at the next general elections.

Both the Conservatives, led by former Premier Dudley Senanayake and the Trotskyites led by Dr. N. M. Perera, have forecast that these will be in 1959 as the country is heading for economic bankruptcy. There is no doubt in political quarters here that the economic problems of the country, which have been largely neglected by the Government during the past two years, are beginning to manifest themselves and will spell even more trouble for the Government than the language problem has done.

The chief of these problems is that of unemployment. During the past two years the ranks of the unemployed have more than doubled. In 1956 the number of unemployed persons who had registered themselves at the Government employment exchange was 60,000. Today the figure is well over 125,000. The cost of living has continued to rise steadily, thus aggravating the economic lives of the masses. There still remains much to be done in the fields of health and education, while no work has yet begun on the economic development plans, although there has been two years of paper work. The Government, no doubt, has been unable to push ahead its development plans because of periodical outbreaks of communal violence and numerous strikes both in the private and public sectors.

The Government's Economic Development Plan, which is being formulated on the advice of foreign experts like Professor Nicholas Kaldor, the Cambridge economist, Professor Myrdal and Dr. Joan Robinson, has still to see the light of day because of the diverse views on planning held by various members of the Government. The Marxists in the Cabinet advocate that all foreign-owned tea plantations, banks and insurance firms should be nationalised, while the Socialists in the Cabinet, led by the Premier himself, are opposed to this point of view.

The failure of the Government to lay down a clear-cut policy with regard to nationalisation and foreign capital has made the potential foreign investor suspicious of investing in the country. This is a bitter blow to the future of the private sector in the country, which could play a big part in solving the unemployment problem. This indecision on the part of the Government has also made the western powers, notably



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America, cautious in granting a long term loan to Ceylon to tide over its financial difficulties. The Finance Minister's two begging missions to Washington have been futile. Ceylon has little alternative but to turn only to Russia for a loan, to save herself from crashing on the rocks of bankruptcy.

Another factor which has made the Government unpopular is the spate of rumours of bribery and corruption associated with both ministers and Government parliamentarians, which are circulating in the country. The Government has refused to accede to the demands of the Opposition parties for the appointment of a bribery commission to investigate these allegations, on the grounds that the Penal Code and the Bribery Act of the country give sufficient powers for these allegations to be made to the proper authorities for investigation. The Opposition parties have, however, maintained that the provisions of the Bribery Act are insufficient to investigate these charges and only a commission with wide powers of reference could do justice to the allegations.

These factors have no doubt driven the Government into a spell of stormy weather. Mr. Bandaranaike's position is more difficult and precarious now than it was during the height of the language disturbances. The immediate task facing the Prime Minister is not only to save the country from a financial crisis but also of pushing ahead with development projects so that the economic problems will not be allowed to grow and assume proportions bigger than the language problem. If the Government fails or falters, then there is no doubt that it will be swept out of office whether the elections be next year or in 1961, when the life of the present Government ends.

Singapore

No Situations Vacant

From Our Singapore Correspondent

The Chief Minister (Mr. Lim Yew Hock) has publicly declared his concern over the increasing unemployment rate in Singapore, which is now at the highest it has been for some time. This may be due to the temporary effect of the trade recession, as a result of which, for instance, a large number of workers have been laid off in the rubber, saw-mill, and shoe making industries. In addition, over 400 RAF civilian workers are to be retrenched because of "lack of cash in the 1958/59 civilian staff estimates." Every large employer has his own tale to tell of the number of applications that pour in for every job he advertises. For some junior clerical appointments in large commercial firms, it is not unusual for more than 100 applications to be received. The competition for "white collar" jobs is keenest of all. In fact, Singapore's Minister for Education (Mr. Chew Swee Kee) summed up the situation recently when he said, "We are turning out more people every year with school certificates than needed. There are no jobs for them. The school certificates may soon become as worthless as a scrap of paper."

The long term aspects are even more worrying. The birth rate in Singapore continues to grow at an alarming rate. There are already nearly one and a half million people of all races on this small island of 26 miles by 14 miles, and it is estimated that one baby is born every eight minutes. No one knows how all of these extra mouths will be fed, clothed, housed, and found work to do when the time comes. One of the answers is birth control. But it is not a complete answer. If birth control were universally acceptable in Singapore the effect would only provide relief in the years to come and certainly not for the next two decades. But in any case it is not universally acceptable. There is prejudice against it: by some, because of ignorance, by others because of the long established precepts of filial piety (the more sons you have the more people there will be to attend to your spiritual needs when you have passed into the world beyond). The Roman Catholic Church is opposed to artificial contraception in principle, and, of course, it does not help matters that Singapore's Minister of Health is himself a member of this Church.

The ability of the Singapore Government to create employment is limited unless it is prepared to establish State industries risking public money where private enterprise will not venture. The Minister for Commerce and Industry (Mr. J. M. Jumabhoy) has already announced plans for setting up a State-owned cigarette and match factory, but this scheme has met with a mixed reception. The Singapore Tobacco Company, the biggest imported cigarette distributors, has warned against Government interference in the cigarette industry in any form. But Mr. Jumabhoy himself has said that he has already received a number of enquiries about purchasing shares in this rather curious State enterprise from hawkers, market stall-holders, taxi-drivers and trade union-

ists. His reply has been "wait until the shares are available." There is also some talk of negotiations between the Singapore Government and a big fishing company in Japan in regard to the establishment of a large fish canning factory in Singapore, but no definite proposals have yet emerged. The Government is undoubtedly doing all that it can to stimulate private investment through tax holidays for pioneer industries, but the fact remains that very few western industrialists are prepared to invest money nowadays in an Asian country which is approaching independence.

Another Government plan is to introduce tariffs to protect certain local industries from foreign competition. Mr. Jumabhoy has said that this protection would only be given "where the benefits accruing to Singapore through the industry concerned outweighs any possible harm to the entrepot trade." His explanation, however, has not prevented local business circles from expressing concern that such protection would have a deleterious effect on Singapore trade.

But, as the Chief Minister has rightly emphasised, all plans for industrialisation which will create employment depend in the first place on political security and that is something which is lacking in Singapore at the present time. There is, in fact, neither political security nor economic stability.

Malaya

Citizenship Rules

From our Kuala Lumpur Correspondent

Malaya's nation-wide campaign to transform aliens into Federal citizens has proved a remarkable success. In the first year of independence, more than 900,000 people, the majority of them Chinese, have now got a full stake in this country by taking out Malayan citizenship. The Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, announced at the independence celebrations that for one year there would be a relaxation of many of the regulations which had hitherto existed depriving many aliens, particularly Chinese, from becoming Federal citizens. For instance, until independence, apart from residential qualifications, a prospective citizen must undergo a language test in either English or Malay. This language test was frequently the stumbling block, for tens of thousands of Chinese who had come to Malaya had not taken the trouble to learn either English or Malay. The younger generation of Chinese can speak one or the other of these languages but not their parents. Thus Tunku Abdul Rahman decided that for one year, up to August 31, 1958, any alien over the age of 45 years could become a citizen without any knowledge whatsoever of English or Malay. This concession brought the aliens flocking to register themselves as citizens.

Registration of citizens has been continuing since the first anniversary of independence but once more rigid rules are being applied. It is considered that 12 months' grace is more than a generous time limit for anyone wishing to become a Malayan citizen without the problem of passing a language test. The Federation of Malaya's population

today is 6,300,000 of whom 2,500,000 will be eligible to vote at next year's general elections after they have registered themselves on the electoral rolls which opened on October 1. This is about double the number of voters in Malaya's first general elections in 1955. Already the Delineation Commission has completed its work of dividing the country into 104 constituencies. This is double the number for the last general elections, when only 52 seats were elected and the other 46 nominated. Next year there will be a fully-elected House of Representatives, plus a Senate.

It appears almost certain that the Alliance Party — a combination of the United Malays National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association and the Malayan Indian Congress — led by Tunku Abdul Rahman, will sweep into power again. Every Alliance Minister is confident that they will win a substantial majority, possibly in the region of 75 to 80 seats. There will be an opposition, they agree, but this opposition is unlikely to be united. In fact, some of the opposing parties have such different viewpoints that it is virtually impossible for them to see eye-to-eye on hardly any subject.

Malaya's standards of living are so much higher than neighbouring countries that people are still clamouring to enter the Federation. Today no one is allowed entry into Malaya unless he has a guaranteed job paying him a minimum of \$500 (£60) a month. But this does not stop some people from attempting to enter illegally. The latest of these illegal entrants are 18 lepers, who in groups of twos and threes have presented themselves at the Sungei Buloh Leper Settlement, 16 miles from Kuala Lumpur, which is the largest leper colony in the world. All 18 were Indonesians, some suffering from the disease in an advanced stage. They possessed no identification papers and virtually no money.

They told pathetic stories of having heard of the cures of Sungei Buloh, with its 2,000 odd inmates, that they had decided to make their way into Malaya by crossing the Straits of Malacca on rafts and in small, often unseaworthy boats. It is believed that an organisation exists to smuggle these people ashore and arrange for a taxi to carry them to the leper settlement . . . but at a price.

By law, anyone suffering from leprosy must be isolated, so the authorities at Sungei Buloh had little option but to admit them. They will be given free treatment and some of them will probably be in hospital for up to five years before they are cured. The Medical authorities in Malaya are pleased that their leper settlement is held in such high esteem by foreigners but perturbed that illegal entrants might begin to swamp them unless something is done. Investigations are now proceeding in the hope of smashing the racket which exists to bring in diseased people for treatment in Malaya. The 18 who have managed to reach this country will, however, not be turned away.

But while many people in South-East Asia know all about Malaya, Mr. Y. P. Cheah, a town councillor and teacher in this country, has just returned from Britain disgusted with the Malayan Government's publicity bureau there. He maintains that the campaign to publicise Malaya in the United Kingdom is a flop. Mr. Cheah said that schoolchildren in some places were still taught that Singapore was the capital of Malaya. "And the ordinary people in Britain still think we are living in the blow-pipe age," he added. Recalling his impressions of the Malayan High Commissioner's office in London, Mr. Cheah said he went

along to ask for certain facts and figures. He found these papers still unopened although they had arrived some time before. "When I asked why they were still not distributed, I was told that the office was waiting for people to ask for them," he said.

Mr. Cheah urged that information about Malaya should be sent out at once to schools, public libraries and other places where the ordinary Briton would have a chance to learn about Malaya. "Once I was listening to a Negro soap-box orator attacking Britain. Suddenly, a fleckler shouted, 'Send him back to Malaya.' I felt I should do something about this so I took the heckler aside and pointed out to him that the speaker was a Negro and came from a country 7,000 miles from Malaya. All these things would not have happened, and would not be happening, if the people of Britain knew more about Malaya," said Mr. Cheah.

On a lighter note, the Malayan Government is studying a proposal to bar Malayan diplomats marrying foreign girls except with special permission. The new regulations will almost certainly be included in a code of conduct to be introduced soon. Recently, three Malayan cadet diplomats married foreign girls during overseas training. Explained a spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs: "It is awkward for a Malayan diplomat to have a non-Malayan wife. Problems could arise if the Government wanted to station a man in a particular country which was unsuitable for his wife." However, no action will be taken against the three who have already married foreign girls. But it is hoped that the new regulations can be introduced before the next batch of eight young cadets leave for Britain and Australia for training next month.

Vatican

Bishops in China

From Our Rome Correspondent

The late Pope's encyclical letter *Ad Apostolorum principis*, issued on September 8th, raised a series of time-honoured questions, the principal of which was that of the procedure of episcopal appointments. The Vatican had been informed in late spring that in Hankow, on April 13th, Monsignor Li Tao Nan had consecrated as bishops two Franciscan monks, Fr. Bernardine Tung Kwan Ching, and Fr. Mark Yuan Wen. The consecration of Fr. Tung Kwan Ching had been decided previously in an informal meeting of the local clergy.

The Chinese People's Republic's point is, that the faithful enjoy the right to elect their shepherds by a democratic procedure. The conditions under which they were elected are not known. They are claimed by the Vatican to be wholly unfree. The September encyclical, however, had chiefly the aim of reasserting the exclusive right of the Vatican to appoint bishops, any other procedure being condemned as sinful, and as a cause for exclusion from the fold of the Church. The sanction for it is an excommunication reserved "specialissimo modo" to the Holy See; and it

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was duly contained in the encyclical, and thereby notified. The Vatican did not miss the opportunity of asserting the Church's right to guide Christians in matters both spiritual and temporal, and of censoring all the deeds of a Christian when they come in conflict with "natural law."

The argument used by China's Bureau of Religious Affairs—that bishops had been elective in the early time of Christianity—is rejected on the grounds that this institution has long been abolished by the Holy See itself, under the powers "of grazing, holding, and steering the Universal Church" granted by Christ to St. Peter. Perhaps this attitude is incomprehensible to rigid rationalists like the Chinese Communists. They probably have failed to grasp the solid element underlying it. Papal absolutism is in the highest degree an historical formation, and as such, cannot be easily wiped out by sheer rational arguments: the undoing of it can only be the work of history. Chinese Communists are likely to endure, in the end, a disappointment as bitter as those endured by Protestant churches, who have more than once contemptuously underrated the solidity of papal absolutism.

The encyclical also reasserted the distinctly international character of the Catholic Church—a clever move in the psychological warfare conducted against the People's Republic of China. The Church's undoubted internationalism is its greatest asset and the greatest force of attraction to the faithful, most of them being willing to exchange the Catholic Church's internationalist absolutism for the freedom enjoyed within more democratically governed national churches. Allowing for all this, the pontifical document shows an underlying fear that China's action, even if it meets with no success, might sow the seeds of a movement which, in future times, could bear fruit. The vigorous reassertion of Roman principles has the aim of setting the possible schismatics of the future before an agonising alternative.

The two consecrations mentioned are not the only ones, but Roman ecclesiastical circles admit the existence of many more. In all probability, they are officially ignored, in order that the return of the erring sheep might be easier when—as the encyclical says: "more serene days shall shine again over China's heavens."

There is no need to add that China was not the only nation aimed at in the encyclical. The insistence of even very loyal Catholic local churches for "their own cardinal," that is, for more representation within the Holy College is notorious, though little of it appears outside. The appointments of two Asians like Cardinals Gracias and Tien are a

sure evidence of a movement in this sense, and it is clear that the aim of the September encyclical is to keep the movement for representation *within* the fold of the Church.

Australia

Pause for Breath-taking

From Charles Meeking

(EASTERN WORLD Canberra Correspondent)

Politically, economically and internationally, Australia is taking stock. The nation is in a period of reassessment, and some of the tentative conclusions being reached are causing alarm in influential circles. There is a feeling among thinking sections that events pending inside and outside Australia could soon be decisive in terms of destiny. The federal election due on November 22nd still seems "in the bag" for the Menzies Liberal-Country party coalition, but as this is written there is increasing concern at the threat to the economy at a combination of overseas trade reverses especially the lower prices for wool; there is growing recognition that foreign policy towards Asia in the last decade has been wrongly slanted, although with the best intentions; there is a greater readiness to question the effectiveness of "defence" provisions and immigration programmes.

The Government will give no encouragement before the poll to any talk of recession, but its advisers are most certainly worried about the subdued outlook. The US lead and zinc restrictions could have a snowballing effect. Britain has undercut some Australian exports by its action on dollars. Mechanisation in New South Wales coal mines is causing dismissals. The so-called "drive for Asian trade," which has been talked of for years, faces the keener competition of Japan, of the US, of west and east Europe. The possible effects on Australian exports of the European Common Market are still not fully assessed.

There is general agreement that the Labour Opposition, and Dr. H. V. Evatt in particular, missed an extraordinary opportunity of embarrassing the Government in the closing hours of the Parliament, while one Australian Minister in Montreal was blasting at the Americans over lead and zinc, and another in Canberra was saying that the Government would give the greatest encouragement to the expansion of trade with Communist China, even if only temporarily. Dr. Evatt has been critical in the past of several aspects of the American alliance. He is still under grave political threat, because the breakaway Labour sector, the Democratic Labour party, at present intends giving its preference votes to the Government, mainly because of Labour advocacy of recognition of Peking, and Labour-Communist associations in trade union elections. It was generally expected, therefore, that Labour would make a major point of the Government's anomalous position in coupling anxiety for more trade with China with continued support for the US refusal of diplomatic recognition. Such a tactic, aimed directly at the Democratic Labour group, might have upset the apple-cart. Labour did not adopt it, greatly to the relief and surprise of the Government.

Internationally, the Government, like many individual

Australians, is uneasy. There was, of course, the most intense official concern over the Formosa Strait crisis, although finally a declaration that Australia stood by the United States. Behind the scenes, in Washington, Australia was adding its voice to those who urged the utmost caution in American policy on the off-shore islands. There was a noticeable easing in the hysterical newspaper campaign over Indonesia. The clamour in some quarters for a military pact with the Dutch died down after the statement by External Affairs Minister R. G. Casey that Australia accepted Indonesian assurances that the Republic would not make a military attack on West New Guinea. A significant straw was an editorial in a Sydney newspaper which, a few weeks earlier, had been leading the anti-Indonesian campaign. It actually now asked: "Why should Australia fear to have a common border with Indonesia any more than Britain does in Borneo?" and went on to suggest Indonesian participation in a UN trusteeship for New Guinea.

Generally, therefore, there is a feeling of impending change in many sectors of the Australian scene, with some aspects offering the prospect of a much tougher time for easy-going Australians. It remains to be seen whether Australia can reap economic and political advantage from the ferment in Asia, whether Australian expansion and development programmes can be geared to some permanent association with the driving forces in the under-developed Asian countries. The almost subconscious desire of Australians today, perhaps, is that this transition period should produce some great national policies, unrelated to the winning of immediate elections but posing goals which could and should be gained. In some respects, Australia has a good start in the struggle for survival and growth in the jungle of world affairs. Now is the time for thought on how to maintain its advantage.

United States

Giving Assistance

From David C. Williams

(EASTERN WORLD Washington Correspondent)

In his opening speech at the regular session of the UN General Assembly, Secretary of State Dulles proposed that 1959 be an "International Development Year" and outlined an eight-point programme of technical and economic assistance which marked a very substantial step forward in United States policy. Unfortunately, his more controversial remarks on the Quemoy crisis monopolised the headlines. Accordingly, to the intense disappointment of International Cooperation Administration officials, the programme that they had hoped would stir the imagination of the world went virtually unnoticed, even in the usually encyclopaedic *New York Times*.

The idea of making 1959 an "International Development Year" modelled on the "International Geophysical Year" has long been promoted by Congressman Frank Coffin, one of the ablest of the younger men in Congress. It was adopted in fact, if not in the exact words, by Secretary Dulles when said: "The United States believes that the time has come for the nations of the world to take stock of

accomplishments to date (in economic development) and to chart anew long-term courses of cooperative action. We propose that the nations dedicate the year 1959 to these purposes."

Dulles then listed eight steps which he said that the United States would be willing to take in 1959 "subject, of course, to action by our Congress as appropriate." 1, Carry forward its own programmes vigorously and effectively; 2, Increase efforts to emphasise the constructive role of private initiative; 3, Cooperate in regional development programmes, where these are desired; 4, Suggest that the capital of the World Bank be increased; 5, Consider the feasibility of creating an International Development Association as an affiliate of the Bank; 6, Support technical assistance, both directly by the United States and through the United Nations; 7, "Seek to enlist the assistance of our universities and scientific institutions, joining with those of other cooperating countries, to achieve scientific and technological breakthroughs on problems of particular concern to the less developed countries;" 8, Seek funds from Congress for international health programmes.

As a totality, the Dulles speech suggests a greater reliance upon international agencies in the administration of technical and economic assistance than has hitherto been the case. This is, in good part, because American officials—long sceptical that any other countries would contribute substantially through international agencies—are now beginning to hope that they may do so.

American officials have been greatly encouraged by the fact that four nations — Great Britain, West Germany, Canada, and Japan—have joined the United States and the World Bank in making available \$350 million to India in the next six months. This is the first time that Western Germany has extended aid in any substantial amount, even though the terms for repayment are still much more stringent than those the United States has asked. US officials believe that the discussion of the proposed "International Development Association"—a sort of "bargain basement" for the World Bank, capable of making loans on easier terms, repayable in "soft" currencies—will shed further useful light on the willingness of other nations to take part in helping the peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the world.

The encouragement of regional development programmes is also a new departure in American policy. The United States, which treated the Colombo Plan for many years with studied indifference, will be strongly represented — perhaps by the President himself — at the forthcoming Seattle conference of the Colombo powers. America has recently agreed to join in launching a Latin American Bank, long desired by her neighbours to the south, and the President in a speech to the special session of the UN General Assembly, offered to help finance a Middle East development plan, if the Arab nations wished to get together and initiate one. Also of interest is the proposal for scientific cooperation—which includes the possibility of taking the salt out of sea water at a price which would make it economical for irrigation.

Much will depend upon the response of other nations. The late Ernest Bevin, as British Foreign Secretary, transformed the Marshall Plan from an idea to a reality by (to use his own phrase) "grabbing it with both hands." A similar opportunity now exists for other nations to take the United States at its own word, and to join with it in launching technical and economic assistance on a truly ample and international scale.

Japan

Fear of Involvement

From Stuart Griffin

(EASTERN WORLD Correspondent in Tokyo)

The echo of gunfire from the Formosan Straits reverberates through the length and breadth of a Japan, whose Government and peoples alike tremble for fear of involvement in a shooting war between the United States and the Communist Chinese mainland, and with Russia rumbling belligerently in the background.

Chief reason for the dread is the continued presence on Japanese soil of American armed forces, of planes that would most certainly fly out for the attack and, the Japanese fear, almost as certainly invite retaliation, in the event of the cold war becoming hotter. US ground, air, and naval forces still cling to many score bases, depots, training sites, manoeuvring areas, camps, and airfields, thanks to the unrevised 1952 Security Forces Agreement Japan signed so as to bring about a peace treaty with the United States, its chief 1941-45 enemy. Thus Japanese leaders, out of a sharply renewed fear, denounce afresh the 1952 pact under which America pledged aid to Japan in event of aggression, and feverishly seek to change its provisions if they cannot get it scrapped altogether.

Once before Japan found itself as a major base for United States operations to contain Communism, but in those 1950-53 years of warfare in Korea, this nation found itself materially enriched and launched on what was later described as the "greatest economic boom since (the almost legendary Japanese founder) Emperor Jimmu"—the so-called *Jimmu Irai*. But now this war-weary nation wonders whether a new war would bring new riches to Japan or new ashes. Japanese, in general, seem not to want to take the chance a second time.

The clamour for Yankee to get out of Japan, if not go home, is not the political shouting of an out-party, the Socialists, trying to make political capital at the expense of the pro-western Liberal-Democrat Party, but now the more universal sentiment of a nation whose people fear involvement in a war from which they might again be made to suffer. Japan is in a different position in some ways, unchanged in others, from the nation that tacitly supported the United Nations' efforts against the North Koreans and

the Chinese in 1950-53. Japan then was an occupied country for two-thirds of those war years, a nation still not economically recovered from the Pacific War excursion, a nation with but scattered, ill-developed, raw and untrained home defence forces, forced to depend on American might then stationed here to the extent of four Army divisions, two Army corps, and many assorted ground support troops, not to mention an air force and a navy larger then than now.

Japan was not sovereign, and when indeed she became so in April, 1952 Japan was not strong enough, by herself, to protect that sovereignty. In 1958, as the rumble of the guns is heard, figuratively, even on Honshu, Hokkaido, Shikoku, and Kyushu, Japan is at least in good shape economically, sovereign in more than name only, as America had earlier redeployed its ground forces, and possessed of at least a stronger air and ground self-defence force than five, six, seven years ago. And Japan, fully accepted now in the UN community of nations (which it was not at the time of the Korean War), is even more conscious of its national rights and prerogatives than in 1952.

Japan would certainly welcome another economic windfall, since the world recession has had its ill-effects here as well, but not a windfall that might mean avenging bombs and bullets—and, who knows, nuclear revisitation—instead of contracts and export boosts and dollar earnings. All in all this is the general trend: stay with America economically so long as political considerations are not too involved, but depart from America's course politically, if attachment to such a course would bring involvement in a Far Eastern conflict.

Japan's peace sentiments are, if anything, stronger now that war threatens than before in the moments of uneasy peace. The destruction of 1944-45, especially by the two atomic bombs, is well remembered; kept alive by fears of contamination from radioactive dust as the big nations use the Pacific for thermo-nuclear weapon testing grounds. Any government which would hold the reins of power must surely heed the popular peace sentiment. The Kishi Government is attentive. But Japanese leaders also know this: that Japan is a committed member of the United Nations and that open warfare over Taiwan, if not over the Quemoy and the Matsus, would quite possibly bring the UN into play again, as it did in Korea. Japan seeks to position itself with, not flout the authority of, the United Nations.

If Japan could have its way, this would be the Asian nation's future: close ties with the United States, primarily through the UN politically, bilateral affiliations economically; a reduced American force in Japan still aiding the economy through its "invisible export" disbursements though unequipped with nuclear weapons; a rewritten security force agreement wherein America pledged to come to Japan's aid not in case of civil war but in event of outside aggression, and in which America promised to consult Japan, receive Japan's prior permission to use the Japan-based remnant before it went to war in the Asian area.

But Japan knows this, now as always, it is better to bargain from a position of strength, not weakness. And that though Japan is stronger now than at any time in the post-1945 period, its strength is not so strong it can dictate what it wants. In the last analysis, this nation is largely dependent on the United States. It can hope to gain its ends best by compromise not by threat, quiet its fears more by asking America to consider its position, rather than by telling it too.

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STUDIES IN CHINESE ART

IN these days of bewilderingly swift changes in scientific, economic and political fields, it is refreshing occasionally to turn to quieter and more lasting human preoccupations. The study of Chinese art by the West already has a respectable history. Many sensitive and acute minds have been engaged in research into Chinese artistic activity, especially since the sixteenth century.

Long before Europeans became aware of the artistic achievements of the Chinese, their own sons had begun to write histories of art development, catalogues of *objets d'art*, manuals of art forms and techniques, and critical works of comparison and appraisal. Some of these have come down to our own times, in whole or in part, as guides to the Chinese appreciation of national and individual artistic endeavour.

European connoisseurs were not wanting; though they "knew what they liked" of the feast spread out before them, they almost invariably lacked the background knowledge provided only by Chinese art scholarship. Their judgment was, naturally enough, coloured by European aesthetic standards and few had the leisure or energy required to embark on a study of authoritative Chinese critical works. Some Chinese scholars, on the other hand, devoted part of

their leisure to the translation of native works on Chinese art. One of the first of these was Stanislas Julien who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, translated part of a Chinese work on porcelain. Early in the present century, S. W. Bushell, an authority on Chinese porcelain and other *objets d'art*, made the first English translation of *T'ao Shuo*, a standard work on porcelain and pottery. The western world had to wait until the early 1950s before a parallel work, *Ching-tê-chên T'ao Lu*, was translated into English by G. R. Sayer.

Julien also translated Chinese works on the manufacture of silk, the care of silkworms, and the uses to which the finished product might be put. H. A. Giles, sometime Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge, wrote an excellent book on Chinese painters and their work; Friedrich Hirth, another sinologue, in *Scraps from a Collector's Notebook*, made readers aware of the rich field of Chinese painting available to the ordinary collector.

So great became the interest of the general reader in Chinese art and Chinese painting in particular that, from the early years of this century, numerous works (mainly from the house of Benn) provided full details (with coloured plates) of Chinese carpets, paintings, jades, pottery and por-

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celain, bronzes, ritual dress and most other aspects of Chinese aestheticism. Written by men who had the authority of years of experience of handling the various products, these works soon went out of print.

With the coming of the Chinese Exhibition to Burlington House in 1935, the ordinary man and his wife were able to see treasures hoarded over the centuries in Chinese and foreign collections. Books published at the time—notably the catalogues of exhibits and Chiang Yu's *The Chinese Eye*, helped the uninitiated to find the answers to many of their unspoken questions.

But in spite of all that had been done in popularising Chinese art, most people remained outside the influence of this most seductive culture. The serious student was increasingly well-served. The late lamented Benjamin March compiled the first authoritative Chinese-English glossary of terms used in Chinese art and archaeology, a labour since admirably supplemented by Professor S. H. Hansford in his recent publication under the aegis of the China Society. By means of these two publications the student could readily find his way through the simpler Chinese texts on art subjects.

In 1951, Alexander C. Soper, Professor in Bryn Mawr University, published through the American Council of Learned Societies his translation of Kuo Jo-hsi's *T'u-hua Chien-wên-chih* (Experiences in Painting). This is a deeply satisfying work—even the commentator's notes are translated to the great benefit of the student. This was followed (1954) by W. R. B. Acker's *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, a study of three of the earliest critical texts by Chinese scholars appraising the artistic achievements of their predecessors and contemporaries. Dr. Acker's work is not only of the highest importance to students of Chinese art history and literature; it is eminently readable and enriched with voluminous notes.

In 1957 another major Chinese work on painting was translated. Miss Mai-mai Sze's *The Tao of Painting*, was published in England by Routledge & Kegan Paul (it had appeared in the USA the year before). Volume I is introductory, preparing the reader for Miss Sze's excellent annotated translation of the Ming dynasty *Chieh Tzu Yüan Hua Chuan*, usually called in English the "Treatise on Painting from the (Studio) Mustard Seed Garden." An earlier translation into French, by R. Petrucci, had long been out of print: moreover, recent studies had clarified the meanings of many terms still obscure in Petrucci's day.

Apart from these important individual undertakings, many specialist articles on subdivisions of Chinese art appeared in Oriental journals. Artistic publications in Great Britain devoted articles, and even special issues, to a discussion of some section of art interest. Meanwhile occasional sporadic publications of art history appeared from time to time and it was encouraging to see that even general histories became conscious of the importance of Chinese art, successive publications devoting even more and more space to the special preoccupation of Far Eastern art.

In 1958 appeared (in Pelican Books) the comprehensive survey of *Chinese Art* in two volumes by William Willetts. This is indeed a splendid achievement. The whole range of Chinese art is here displayed before the general reader—no special knowledge is assumed and the student is led step by step through the thorny bypaths of Chinese art achievement and history. Fully illustrated, these two portable volumes enclose all that is best among the numerous works on Chinese

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archaeological finds, bronzes, lacquers, pottery and porcelain, painting and calligraphy, architecture and so on.

The culmination of studies in Chinese art may be said to lie in the massive seven volume publication on Chinese painting by Osvald Sirén, to be completed in October this year. The whole panorama of Chinese graphic art with abundant illustrations and annotated lists (potted biographies) of all painters who have left their mark on their country's illustrious history, is here displayed in elegant volumes. The letterpress has obviously been carefully edited and the numerous reproductions of outstanding paintings are masterpieces of modern printing technique.

From Peking in 1957 came the scholarly *Chung-Kuo Hua-lun Lei-pien* in two volumes. This is a real boon to the student for within its 1,314 pages are found the original Chinese texts (mostly complete, the others in part) of authoritative writings on Chinese art from Hsieh Ho's *Estimation of Ancient Painters* and Ku K'ai-chih's *Record of Painting on Cloud Terrace Mountain*, down to the latest leading painters and writers of the Manchu dynasty. This was followed in May of this year by a bibliography of extant works in Chinese on the art and artists of successive dynasties. It is an illuminating work, showing the gradual growth of interest within China itself in Chinese art. Six dynasties from the fourth to the eighth century produced 21 works of such importance that they have been preserved to our own time: the T'ung dynasty has bequeathed us 28, the Sung dynasty 77, the Ming 167, and the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty 434. These works are almost all still in print and reprints constantly appear on the market. The number of original works produced under the People's Republic is

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relatively small as yet, but new publications appear every few months. It is, perhaps, in the sphere of art journals, magazines and other ephemeral issues that the new China makes its greatest impact on the young people at home and abroad.

Enough has been written to show that, as western interest in Far Eastern art developed, so in China more and more writers engaged in the writing of the history of art, biographies of painters, editions of early Chinese works on art and its techniques, appraisal of earlier artists and comparative studies designed to show the writer's view of the relative merits of earlier and later schools. The rapid increase in the later dynasties in the number of original works produced testifies to the keen interest aroused among the ordinary people in their art heritage. Together with informed studies appearing in Chinese specialist journals and papers separately published, the western student with a knowledge of Chinese now has several thousands of works to help his researches: and, at the present rate of progress, translation of the more important of these works will soon provide the artist and general reader who have no Chinese with authoritative manuals on any particular art form.

NEVILLE WHYMAN

What Does the West Want? by GEORGE CATLIN (Phoenix House. 10s. 6d.)

This book has a case to state, but it is so ensnared with erudite irrelevancies that it is not easy to say in absolute terms what exactly Professor Catlin is getting at. He argues cogently on the "one world" concept, and discusses the politico-philosophical basis of western behaviour vis-à-vis the Communist world.

His theme seems to be that the West must develop ideas of what is good and right in social and political practice so that it sets an example of life which will attract even the Communist countries. It would appear that democratic socialism is what Professor Catlin believes should be the foundation of this struggle for the minds of men. He has too much of an abiding faith in the power of an integrated and expanding Commonwealth, and his view of "encouraging . . . those modern and competent engineers who seek increasingly to substitute international machinery with authority" (his italics), seems to undermine the benevolent internationalism on which he rests his case. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of sense to be found in this book, and if it was not so tortuously written, it would certainly be of interest to aspiring political scientists in Asia.

J.W.T.C.

The Nature of the Non-Western World by VERA MICHELES DEAN (New York: New American Library, Mentor Books. London: Muller. 4s.)

New Era in the Non-Western World Edited by WARREN S. HUNSBERGER. (Cornell University Press, London. Oxford U.P. 24s.)

These two books cover very much the same sort of ground—indeed, the author of the first is a contributor to the second. The difference is that Dr. Micheles Dean has written at greater length, for a wide and less knowledgeable public, while Professor Hunsberger has the university student and specialist in mind. Both are written ostensibly for Americans, and are an attempt to straighten out some of the problems which Asian and Middle Eastern behaviour

customs, and thinking create in American minds in relation to contemporary world political events.

Dr. Michele Dean's book covers an enormous amount of ground. Her essay in Mr. Hunsberger's symposium is a very brief attempt to state the same problems. Her approach is sympathetic, and she does not see the power of nationalism as something to be challenged. In a chapter called "Retooling for the Future" she suggests sensible solutions to many of the political problems that emerge in the wake of an anti-colonial revolution.

It is on matters concerning Communism that she is weakest. This is not unnatural for one who must be conscious of the American political atmosphere and the restrictions that atmosphere imposes on clear assessments of the function of Communism. She resorts to sloganised phrases like: "the (Chinese) peasantry on whose very backs, so to speak, the Communists rode to power." She bases conclusions on assumptions that are not correct, such as that, after the Chinese revolution had given land to the peasants, collectivisation "will reduce the proud landowners of yesterday to the status of an agrarian proletariat tomorrow," and that collectivisation means "the destruction of the peasantry as a social force." This simply has not happened in China. However, on the whole, the book is well and fairly written, and just the kind of thing intelligent Americans should read.

There are seven contributors in the other book, all from the University of Rochester, where their essays were first presented in public lectures. It is particularly satisfying to see two contributions examining the impact of modernity on underdeveloped countries. Professor W. A. Noyes's piece on "Science and the Non-Western World" only touches the fringe of the subject, and one felt that he could have developed his thesis at greater length. Dr. Gittler's chapter on "Social Adjustment to Technological Innovation" offers no glittering answers, but he does give an opinion on the effects of technology and industry on the non-western world. They are, he says, as likely as not to be the same as those which occurred after the industrial revolution in Europe: slowing down in population rise, the break-up of the family as a unit, etc.

The two books open up vistas on the world outside the sophisticated standards of the West, and bring factors into focus which should go some way towards making western readers understand why Asian and Africans sometimes cannot accept western ideas as valid. Cornelis W. de Kiewiet, President of Rochester University, in his essay gives the final word. It should always be recognised, he says, that American

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foreign policy (but it could easily apply to all western policy) "is being conducted in a period of history when a complex transfer of power and initiative is taking place, when the peoples and government of the non-western world are each year less submissive to the authority of the western world. The greatest weapons of offence and defence in history have not produced an equivalent strengthening of our diplomatic bargaining power."

J. W. T. COOPER

The Amiable Prussian by CHARLES DRAGE (*Anthony Blond*, 18s.)

The rise and fall of Hitler and his Nazism in Germany are vividly described in the book with Captain Walther Stennes, a Prussian "difficult subordinate" officer, as the central theme. The author in narrating the chequered political and military career of this amiable Prussian royalist-nationalist has shown how Hitler came to be the master of Germany and how he instituted the horrible persecution of Jews without any justifiable reasons. Captain Stennes who joined the Hitler Party and organised and commanded the Brown Shirts east of the Elbe disagreed and quarrelled with Hitler only to be imprisoned. Then through the help of his influential friends in the Nazi Party he was released and banished to China where, first, he organised the bodyguard regiment of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and then, revamped the fighting power of certain Chinese military units. The author in unfolding his close association with Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek gives an interesting account of Japan's undeclared war on China as seen by Captain Stennes. The book is very well written. It grips the imagination of the reader.

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Middle East Indictment by ARSLAN HUMBARACI (Robert Hale Ltd. 21s.)

This is a "God that failed" story with a difference. It is also a severe indictment of western policies in the Middle East. The author, who was born and lived in Turkey until he fell foul of the authorities there, belongs to that rare breed of westernised Turks who can see through its veneer of europeanisation. His own experience bears this out, as described in the first part of this book. He turned to Communism in protest against the social injustices and inequities he found in Turkey. Like other progressive Asians, he had welcomed at first the coming of Americans to Turkey after the war, hoping that a closer association with the world's greatest democracy would further the cause of democracy in Turkey itself. He soon realised, however, that the Americans were solely preoccupied with the threat of Soviet aggression. They were in no mood to press urgent economic and political reforms on their "brave Turkish allies." (As a former correspondent of "The New York Times," Mr. Humbaraci can claim to write with authority on post-war Turkey). When he became a Communist, he was able to gain first-hand knowledge of Soviet methods of penetration in the Middle East; his chapters on Soviet strategy — the search for "common causes" with Arab nationalism — should be read by everyone concerned about the failure of the West's policies in this region. He left the Party when he realised that the Russians were exploiting the Arab nationalist cause to advance their own interests.

The second part is an exposé of the West's dealings with the Middle Eastern countries from the Truman Doctrine (1947) — when the United States took over a part of Britain's traditional responsibilities in the region — to the Eisenhower Doctrine (1957) — when British policy lay in ruins, and the US was left to improvise as best she could. Mr. Humbaraci repeats the moral of his earlier story, but raises it from the personal to the historical plane. Although a Turk, he writes of the Arabs with rare insight and sympathy. He does not appear to understand the strength of their anti-Israel fixation, however. He attributes the West's failure to come to terms with Arab nationalism to its obstinate refusal to respect their genuine aspirations, and to Anglo-American rivalry in the region of which the Baghdad Pact was the confused product. Among specific points of criticism, Mr. Humbaraci mentions the foolishness of the West in making overtures to the Arab countries via Turkey, and the extension of the region's conflicts eastwards to Pakistan which provoked India to retaliate by seeking an understanding with President Nasser. Both specialist and

layman will find this book useful, not least of all for the valuable information on the Middle East in its indices.

SAVAK KATRAK

The Economy of Pakistan by J. RUSSELL ANDRUS and AZIZALI F. MOHAMMED (Oxford University Press, 45s.)

This is a very elementary book. It has no originality and lacks depth. It can be hardly of any use to serious students of Pakistani economy. All the facts marshalled here are readily available in various government and specialised agency publications. The authors have merely assembled them in a book form to describe the physical aspects of Pakistani economy and the measures and schemes adopted by the Pakistani Government to develop a stable national economy. Perhaps the only redeeming feature of the book are the tables. The book starts off with an extremely sketchy and garbled four-page account of the hoary historical past of the land which is Pakistan today. Then it refers to the birth of Pakistan, its constitution, geographical background and the "basic economic problems." Nowhere have the authors made any attempts to pinpoint the manifold adverse economic factors, the reasons for the prevalence of such factors and the national causes which are impeding their solution. They have confined themselves to re-stating the steps that have so far been taken officially to grapple with the economic problems. Because the book gives only the official version of the economic picture of Pakistan it is instinct with a tourist type of approach. Hence it can be called a tourist guide book meant for the consumption of inquisitive foreign tourists.

The book does not do justice to Pakistan. For not only does it fail to show how nationalism is playing an important role in the gradual evolution of a national economy but how the newly risen industrial class of Pakistan is pushing up industrial development without waiting for official initiative or encouragement. The book also fails to point out that the economic adversity of Pakistan is essentially due to unstable party politics. It does not suggest what economic pattern Pakistan should have to insure national prosperity, nor does it quote the Pakistani criticisms against the Government to draw attention to the long series of official blunders. Furthermore it does not explain what position Pakistan occupies now and will occupy in the future in the conduct of the economic intercourse of South-East Asia and what is the impact of Pakistan's foreign policy on national economy.

A.L.

Islam—The Straight Path edited by KENNETH W. MORGAN (New York: Ronald Press, \$6)

The faith of Islam and the consequences of that faith are described in this book by eleven devout Muslim scholars in eleven specially written essays. This is not a comparative study, nor an attempt to defend Islam against what is called Western misunderstandings; it is simply a concise presentation of the history and spread of Islam and of the beliefs and obligations of the Muslims. The book retells the story of the Prophet's life, expounds his teaching and traces the spread of Islam into Asia, Africa and Europe. It vividly depicts the attitudes of the Muslims towards the Koran, the traditions of the Prophet as the guide to righteousness and the various schools of Islamic law and thinking. The volume makes particular endeavours to show that there exists an uninterrupted unity among the Muslims of different countries throughout the world.

R.Q.

Marriage and Family in India by K. M. KAPADIA
(Bombay: Oxford University Press, Indian Branch,
27s. 6d.)

The volume surveys in a very scholastic manner the growth of polyandry and polygyny amongst Indian Hindus and Muslims propelled by various religious beliefs and economic circumstances and shows how in modern times the modern political, economic and social thoughts are changing the traditional ways of life and living. The author therefore approaches the subject from sociological, cultural, geopolitical and religious viewpoints. He says polygyny among the Hindus was due to group ideology and the system of caste with its consequent social hierarchy. Among the Nambudiris of South India it was due to the patriarchal joint-family organisation. Islam sanctioned it as a relic of pre-Islamic Arabic culture and some of the tribalists in India practise it for cooperation in labour. Dr. Kapadia stresses how the Hindu way of life was influenced by the Vedic philosophy and its subsequent variations and interpretations and how the Brahmanas evolved a social pattern to their advantage and yet developed a religio-social structure to give prominence to the spiritual aspect of family life. This follows a resumé of the social outlook of Indian Muslims and it is pointed out that, like the Hindus, they too are readjusting their family life to modern conditions and environments.

The major part of the book deals with the historic past of Hindu family life. Consequently it has devoted less attention to discussing the various aspects of Muslim social life in India. Equally less attention has been devoted to describing the recent and contemporary trends. Nevertheless it depicts how during the British rule the impact of Western political thought and industrial initiatives started changing the Hindu and Muslim social patterns—a revolution which is now in full swing in India in the current independent era. Still the author believes that despite considerable modification the Hindu joint-family system will continue to survive for a long time. Although the critics may not agree with all the explanations and arguments of the author, they nevertheless cannot but applaud him for his lucid treatment of this highly complex theme.

L.N.A.

Muhammadian Festivals by G. E. VON GRUNEBaum
(Abelard-Schuman, 12s. 6d.)

This book does not pretend to be a complete study of the festivals of Islam. It confines itself to presenting the essential and typical elements of Islamic ritual, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca, the fast during the month of the Ramadan, the Muharram and some festivals of Muslim saints. Professor von Grunebaum points out that colourful as these festivals are and rich in interpretative material, they present endless ramifications in terms of history and psychology of religion over many centuries and in many diverse parts of the world. The author makes the study interesting by comparing the Mecca pilgrimage to the Jewish Passover and the Ramadan fasting to the Christian Lent. He says that a number of details regarding the arrangement and the symbolism of the Muharram procession corroborate the general parallelism of the ceremony with the festival of Adonis-Tammuz. Finally he refers to the "Taziya" Passion Play, the only drama to be developed in either Persian or Arabic literature.

M.A.S.

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A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture by
K. A. C. CRESWELL (*Pelican Books*, 8s. 6d.)

Those who are interested in Muslim architectonics will find this historical handbook very valuable. Professor Creswell, a recognised British authority on the Muslim art of architecture, in dealing with the earliest Muslim mosque and palace-building art which flourished during the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties respectively with Damascus and Baghdad as principal centres, explains in an authoritative manner the contributions first of the Hellenistic traditions of the Christian architecture and then of the Persian ornamental and decorative aestheticism. The Arab conquerors of Syria at least for a generation showed no architectural ambition. After that the ruling Umayyad dynasty began to make use of the developed Hellenistic architectural talents of the conquered people and, while converting churches into mosques, it began to build new ones by employing Copts from Egypt and Greeks living in Syria. Thus the Umayyad building art reflected the influence of Christian architecture. And just as the Muslims in Syria were influenced by the Hellenistic traditions and Christian art of their environment, so those who found themselves in Iraq or Persia as a result of the fanwise invasions of the Arabs leading to the rise of the subsequent Abbasid dynasty, were influenced by the Sasanian traditions of their environment. During the Abbasid Khalifate the still-surviving influences of Sasanian Persia profoundly modified the Muslim art and architecture. This gave birth to the art of Samarra extending in one direction to Egypt and in another direction to Bahrain. Still Umayyad influence travelled to Tunisia and then to Spain.

N.L.A.

PUBLIC HEALTH IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

By Dr. C. Mani

IN South-East Asia, during the last ten years, a particularly dramatic chapter has been unfolding in the history of the world public health movement. But historians have been lacking to record this exciting story. Those who might have written it have been too busy making it. So the story, far-reaching in its implications not only for Asia but for the rest of the world, remains largely untold.

Just ten years ago, in 1948, most of the countries of this region embracing one-fifth of the world's total population—had only recently gained their political independence. Five hundred million people, living in more than a million villages and scores of sprawling cities and smaller towns that dot the map stretching from Afghanistan and Nepal through India, Ceylon, Burma and Thailand to Indonesia, had at last begun to demand a more abundant life and to expect a larger share in determining what the future would be like for themselves and their children.

It was against this background of a gradual awakening to the challenge and the opportunity of a new age that delegates from five countries of the region gathered in New Delhi on 4 October 1948 to establish the WHO Regional Organisation for South-East Asia. Much has happened since then and WHO is proud to have been associated with it even though its role has been a limited one. In a larger process of economic and social change, which has included the betterment of health, WHO has acted as stimulant, helper and catalyst at many points.

The most important single fact about South-East Asia, with a vital bearing upon every aspect of economic and social planning, is its overwhelmingly rural character. Four out of every five people in the region live on the land, usually employing methods and techniques as old as the history of civilization itself. How to reach these millions, subject for ages to recurrent illness and chronic malnutrition, is the biggest question that the health services of the countries of the area have had to face. In 1948, when the WHO Regional Committee for South-East Asia held its first session, malaria was the biggest scourge. Each year it claimed roughly 100 million victims, with about a million deaths, and was one of the main barriers to economic progress and social well-being in the rural areas. The use of residual insecticides, such as DDT, as a cheap and effective method to control malaria had been developed a few years earlier, but concerted large-scale measures for combating it were being carried out in only a few places—mostly confined to the cities and larger towns. The vast rural population was mostly unprotected.

Today the picture is strikingly different. On an ever-widening front, the fight against malaria is being waged with increasing success and the change of strategy from malaria control to malaria eradication has been adopted by all the countries in the region. Ceylon, which had already launched an intensive anti-malaria campaign in 1946, is now almost entirely free from the disease. Afghanistan and Thailand are

on the point of affording protection to everyone among their populations who are at risk, totalling two million in the one country and twelve million in the other. Burma is already affording protection to 9.3 million and, within the next three or four years the programme is expected to cover all the 12 million people living in the country's malarious areas. In Indonesia, where about 75 million people are exposed, an ambitious plan of eradication costing 100 million dollars and spread over 11 years from 1959 to the end of 1969 is about to be put into operation. Nepal, with around five million people at risk, is also about to embark upon a nationwide eradication plan. And in India, a country of 400 million people, about half the population has already been protected under the national malaria control programme and from 1958 a countrywide drive has been launched to eradicate the disease in about six years at an estimated cost of about Rs. 56 crores. In the task of eradicating malaria from the region, substantial assistance is being provided, apart from WHO, by UNICEF and America's International Cooperation Administration (ICA).

This offensive against malaria is a highly dramatic illustration of the march forward of public health in the region which, taken together with many other examples, would form an impressive record of achievement, were it not overshadowed by the magnitude of the task that still remains to be done. In an area bristling with problems in every sphere it was necessary in the beginning to lay down priorities. It was obvious that until a start had been made in tackling malaria and a number of other major communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, venereal diseases and yaws, trachoma, leprosy and numerous types of diarrhoea and dysentery, it would be unrealistic to devise an approach to the task of providing adequate public health services for the countries of the region. So meagre and so ill-distributed were the available resources, both in human and in financial terms, that any such attempt would have almost certainly failed. Moreover, the economic loss caused, directly and indirectly by all these diseases had to be considered. The governments bent on raising levels of productivity and standards of living realised that they could make little headway without first controlling diseases responsible for a staggering annual toll of manpower and working hours. Large-scale measures to combat the more important communicable diseases had to be undertaken as a matter of the utmost urgency.

Therefore, during the first several years, WHO's efforts in South-East Asia were largely concentrated on providing teams of specialist advisers who worked with the local health services in building up programmes designed to reduce the enormous burden of communicable diseases to more nearly manageable proportions.

In May 1949, malaria control demonstration teams were provided by WHO to all countries of the region except Ceylon. In some cases these teams, usually comprising doctors, public health nurses, entomologists and sanitarians, remained in the field for a number of years. Demonstration and training centres for tuberculosis control were set up,

Dr. C. Mani is the Regional Director for South-East Asia of the World Health Organisation.

Economics and Trade

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA TRADE

By Ralph Friedman (Santa Monica, Calif.)

IN the last three years a strong, though disorganised, movement for reestablishing trade with China has been developing in the United States. Prior to the latest Formosa crisis, the demand for removal of the embargo was greater than ever. During the summer, the Democratic Party convention of the state of Washington voted three to one for renewal of China trade, important sections of the California Democratic Council called for an end to the Dulles policy on China, Senator Smathers of Florida declared that "The United States should consider relaxing bans on United States trade with Red China in non-strategic goods," and a cotton leader stated that China held the trade key to the US Far East status.

"Communist China—not Japan—is the long range key to this country's position in the Far East," declared Edward W. Cook, president of Cook and Co., one of the world's largest cotton firms, in an address to the cotton buyers' division of the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of Georgia last May. Cook had just returned from a five weeks' trip to the Far East. The trade embargo, instead of crippling China, is helping that country of 650 million people to build up its own industries and to compete with American markets, the cotton buyers were told. "Today Communist China actually is exporting some things that are on the embargo list," Cook said. An "agonising reappraisal" of our China policy, including the trade embargo, was strongly urged by Cook. Japan, under the export sales programme, has become American cotton companies' largest single export market. Today, Cook pointed out, Japan has also emerged as the largest domestic competitor. "Japan's markets are South-East Asia, including Communist China. Japan's sources of raw materials, from an economic as well as a geographical point of view, are South-East Asia, including Communist China. To try to deny Japanese trade with Communist China is to push water uphill," Cook added. And he concluded: "I am certain in my own mind that our present negative policy is more dangerous than any other policy might be."

Among the many voices critical of US-China policy are Senators Humphrey, Johnson, Ellender, Morse and Magnuson; chambers of commerce on the West Coast; trade unions; prominent financiers and industrialists; Henry Ford II; several influential West Coast newspapers; a number of "opinion"

magazines; leading trade publications in the lumber and shipping fields; flour manufacturers and grain growers; lumber companies; shipowners; the West Coast import-export business; and a gathering group of college professors.

The pressure nationally has been accelerated by a deterioration in US foreign affairs and, to some lesser degree, by the extension of trade items lists by Great Britain and other of America's allies. For the moment, the present Formosa crisis has dimmed the demand for China trade, but when the crisis is over, a much more powerful protest against the embargo can be expected. The terror of war and the negation of Chiang Kai-shek will spur on efforts for peaceful intercourse with China.

On the West Coast, the cry for a reconsideration of the China trade policy stems from more immediate causes. The West Coast is the gateway to the Orient, and since China trade has officially been halted, the gateway has been narrowed. In the Pacific North-west, the discussion is less academic than anywhere else; it deals directly with what the loss of China trade means to the region. It is now doubtful that any politician in Oregon and Washington, where unemployment is severe and hardship widespread, could be elected on a programme calling for approval of the embargo.

At a meeting of port commissioners in Coos Bay, Oregon, Congressman Charles O. Porter (Oregon) declared that when he first advocated China trade in 1954, "this was not a respectable subject; now business is for it, up and down the Coast."

Senator Magnuson of Washington said: "We have got to be realistic. The rest of the world is going to trade with China. We can't keep 600,000,000 people behind an economic bamboo curtain for ever because we don't like their government." Senator Morse of Oregon declared: "You cannot reconcile with faith in God a policy that seeks to reduce to poverty and privation people of yellow skin because they do not adhere to our political faith."

Behind the statements of Senators Magnuson and Morse loomed the grim and scary economic background. In Western Washington, unemployment has been reaching dangerous proportions, ranging from 5% in Seattle to 22% in the Willapa Bay area. Bellingham, a prime mill town and lumber port, suffers at least 15% unemployment. In Aberdeen, fully 25% of the timber workers actively seeking jobs at the height of the logging season last year could not locate them. In Shelton, almost the entire available lumber force is jobless. In settlements all through western Washington, as in Idaho, Montana, northern California, and western Oregon, the closing of mills has doomed once-prosperous towns.

Everyone connected with lumber knows the importance of China trade to the industry. During the depression year of 1931, the US sent more lumber to China from Oregon and Washington than to all other nations from the North-west in 1956. (314,477,322 board feet as compared with 299,273,231 board feet). In terms of 1954 dollars, the 1931 China trade in lumber would have amounted to \$16,221,004 for operators, woodworkers, and longshoremen.

A report prepared by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union made this comment: "... it would appear that the only way to lessen the lumber inventory and to put men to work and keep them working in the lumber industry is by increasing our foreign exports. China, it would seem,

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presents the solution."

Officials of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers' Union have recognised the importance of China trade to the North-west economy, and the International Woodworkers of America have called for "lowering the barriers." IWA president Al Hartung told his members: "Market conditions in the Pacific North-west for products from the forest and from the farm have brought about a demand for a restudy of the present policy of restricted trade with the mainland of China."

Wheat and its derivative, flour, are also essential to the economy of the North-west. In 1931, out of 20,027,000 bushels of wheat exported by the North-west, 13,814,000 bushels went to China. Other countries are taking advantage of the vast potential wheat market in China. Australia, with a huge wheat surplus, sent a representative of her Wheat Board to Peking in 1956. Canada is preparing to join other countries that have rebelled against the Chincom controls.

The losses in flour have been even more serious—far more so—than the elimination of a giant wheat market, to the North-west. To show the growing disparity between wheat and flour shipments, in favour of wheat, a few figures may be pertinent. (Shipping wheat in preference to flour means that the product goes into export channels without any of the value added to manufacturing). In 1923, 1,917,212 barrels of flour were shipped to foreign countries from Portland and Astoria (Oregon). In the same year, 18,536,834 bushels of wheat were shipped. In 1956, Portland and Astoria shipped 1,664,848 barrels of flour to all countries; and 89,088,382 bushels of wheat. In 1957, for every 440 barrels of flour shipped, one million bushels of wheat were exported!

In 1931, the US sent almost as much flour to China as was shipped to all countries in 1954. From 1922 to the beginning of the embargo (and not counting the war years), China ranked among the top six importers of US flour for 22 years. During 18 of those years, China was in first, second, or third place. To the Pacific North-west, flour for China was even more important

than to the rest of the nation. Of 35,934 thousand bushels of flour exported by the North-west in 1931, about 22,000 thousand bushels went to China alone. Between 1922 and 1941, the flour export from the North-west to China amounted to almost 25 percent of present milling capacity.

On flour, along with other commodities, it is evident that American capital does not intend to be left in the lurch, even if it means trading through the back door. Not too long ago, for example, an American milling company purchased two flour mills in Canada, and a dock facility in Vancouver, with China trade expressly in mind.

Some opponents of China trade have argued that, apart from a few commodities, if any at all, the US and China have little of commerce in common. But one of the closest students on the subject, Ivan Bloch, the prominent Portland industrial consultant, feels that the Pacific North-west can richly profit from economic relations with Peking.

In an article printed in the *Oregon Democrat*, Bloch wrote: "Whatever the statistics may be which would portray accurately the character of possible trade between the Pacific North-west and China, there is no doubt that the potentials would stagger the imagination . . . There is a great possibility of numerous new jobs and industry in the Pacific North-west if trade with China is reopened."

Basing his conclusions upon estimates supplied by Alex Taub, the principal architect of the famous Nelson Plan for the industrialisation of China, Bloch believes that the North-west could supply China with the following:

Ferro-silicon, refractories, refined copper, aluminium ingots, lead, zinc, sulphuric acid, soda ash and caustic ash, bleaching powder, calcium carbide, super-phosphates, synthetic ammonia, benzol and toluol, methanol, pulp (newsprint), pulp (sulphite), vegetable oils, industrial alcohol, butyl alcohol; soap, beet sugar, wool yarn and thread; electric bulbs, radio tubes, enamel ware, canned fruits and vegetables, canned fish products, meat products, wheat flour.

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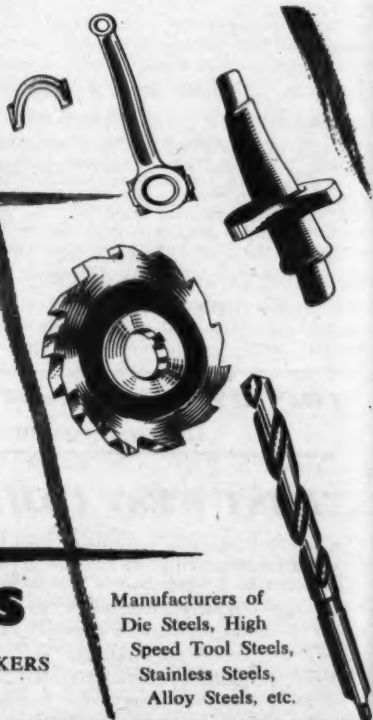
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Bloch further states: "There are many materials of importance to the Pacific North-west industry, which it is known China possesses. Examples are: antimony, of which China produces one-fifth of the world's total, bismuth, copper, fluorspar, iron ore, lead ore, manganese, mercury, talc, tin, tungsten, of which China produces one-fourth of the world's commodities. China also produces commodities of agricultural origin such as feathers and bristles."

Ferment is developing in California, too. San Francisco's 730 foreign traders have called for ending the embargo, for China was an important customer for the Bay Area until the ban was imposed in 1950. Shipping circles, too, are mounting pressure. So important a shipping figure as George E. Talmadge, Jr., vice-president of the Pacific Transport Line-States Line, speaking as president of the San Francisco Area World Trade Association, declared: "There is a widespread feeling that what we're doing nationally is not the right thing. Obviously, we're not hurting China when every other nation is trading with her."

The most accurate position of the shipping interests is reflected in the articles and editorials of the *Pacific Shipper*. In 1956 the *Shipper* sought to undertake a comprehensive survey of the China trade question, and after encountering numerous obstacles from US agencies, finally, through the aid of Robert Kennedy, obtained vital information from US Naval Intelligence. Upon this information and upon data gathered from western European and Asian sources, as well as interviews with sea captains who had recently docked at mainland Chinese ports, the *Shipper* reported:

Yet, US goods do reach China. Congressman Thomas Pelley (Washington state) told a labour delegation: "In spite of the embargo, American goods are and have been continuously going to Red China over an extended period, including strategic materials in substantial quantities." And Congressman Porter stated to the port commissioners that there is "considerable trade going on involving the United States and China," and that several federal agencies have information about this but are "keeping the figure secret because the administration would be embarrassed if all the facts were known."

It is evident that President Eisenhower himself is acutely aware of transshipment trade, and during a press conference revealed what must be considered as intrinsic State Department thinking on the matter. In reply to a question put to him, the president replied: "The point of issue (is): should we maintain the differential between the shipments allowable to the western part of the Communist area in Eurasia, and the eastern part?"

"Those that argue for the elimination quote several things. First, that it is foolish to say China can't have something and then you ship it to Russia and can go on through . . . The opposing argument is that they have to . . . use their transportation space; that cost them some money . . ."

Then the president added, in what would seem to be a very un-Dullesian thought: "Now, frankly, I am personally of the school that believes that trade, in the long run, cannot be stopped."

The theory that China would be weakened by the embargo has been proven stupidly fallacious by developments within China. Chen Ming, vice-director of the Peiping government's Ministry of Foreign Trade, told H. C. Taussig, editor of *EASTERN WORLD*: "It would be completely wrong on the part of some circles in the west—and I do not mean industry and trade—to consider the relaxation of the embargo a great concession to China. The development of Chinese industry during the past few years has proved that we are building our country with our own hands, and not on the basis of favours from the outside."

Industrial growth in China has been the fastest in any country in the world, and China has been an aggressive and highly successful newcomer on the scene of world commerce in recent years. Everywhere they are permitted—and the area of acceptance is rapidly broadening—Chinese business and financial representatives are on the scene, accompanied by engineers and technicians. China has demonstrated that it is capable of surviving without western commerce. The British did not relax

their barriers for love of Peking; they acted out of extreme concern for themselves. Prior to the relaxation, the *China Trade and Economic Newsletter*, published by the British Council for the Promotion of World Trade, coolly and concisely declared: "It will be necessary to abandon any illusions still cherished in business circles about the terms on which British firms might re-enter the China trade. China is today one of the most competitive markets in the world, and Britain's commercial rivals are sparing no efforts to gain a foothold there at her expense."

The research director of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Dr. Lincoln Fairly, has predicted that the total of trade between the US and China in the first years that relations are re-established might run between \$200 and \$300 million per year, with greater expansion to follow. But it might be pertinent to ask how much of a time guarantee this prediction has. For every year that passes, every month, indeed, China is more manoeuvrable in trade operations and looks less keenly across the Pacific.

The ban has not brought about the collapse of the Peking regime, and will not do so. Those who warn that in the end the embargo will turn out to have been more costly for the US than for China may not only prove to be right; they may already have established the validity of their thesis.

The Industrialist speaks . . .

SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS FOR CHINA

MR. F. W. Dawe, Managing Director of Dawe Instruments Ltd., London, manufacturers of electronic measuring instruments, told *EASTERN WORLD* that the embargo situation affected only a very small percentage of his products and some very satisfactory orders had been negotiated following the recent visits by Chinese Missions to this country. In the past China's main requirement for technological goods had been for basic equipment, such as power stations, rolling stock, agricultural machinery and surveying equipment. Mr. Dawe emphasised his interest in the Chinese market. He had visited China about 4 years ago but the value of orders arising at that time had been disappointingly small, being limited to the requirements of universities.

The development of China's manufacturing facilities was now creating a market for industrial instruments and we are approaching the time when China would need appreciable quantities of all types of electronic instruments for industrial as well as educational purposes.

Mr. Dawe explained that his Company had despatched a representative range of instruments to the Tientsin Commodity Fair and he believed that the recent increase in orders from China was in part due to this cooperative action.

CHINESE TECHNICIANS FOR BRITAIN

MR. J. A. Blott, Vice-Chairman of Barrow Hepburn & Gale Ltd., London, (manufacturers of tanning materials and tanning machinery, who are very active in trade with China), was asked by *EASTERN WORLD* about the question of training of Chinese technicians in his Company's tanneries.

Mr. Blott told us that some time ago during his visit to Peking he had suggested to the Chinese to send several technicians to England. These technicians would see in his Company's works the modern production processes and machinery. At the same time, Mr. Blott informed the Chinese that technical instruction of this nature could also be extended to other allied industries.

"An interchange of technicians for training purposes between various countries represents a valuable contribution for the development of international trade," he said. "It has also the great advantage of providing an opportunity for citizens of various countries to meet and work together."

(Continued on page 44)

Mechanisation of Agriculture in Asia

By David S. Calcutt

(The Agricultural Engineers' Association)

THE agricultural engineering industries of the world have faced the difficulties of weaning the farmers of the Far East away from their centuries old, traditional methods of farming. Some of the people concerned have thrown in their hands and claimed that the whole thing is a philanthropic dream. Others have become involved in ideologies. By the natural order of things it is those who hold these attitudes that are most usually heard. Very often they have succeeded in obscuring the fact that an enormous amount of progress has been made towards the mechanisation of Far Eastern agriculture and that its tempo is increasing rapidly.

Of all the potential markets of the world there is no doubt that the enormous farming populations of the Far East offer the largest. The interest of the British Agricultural Engineering Industry in these markets is not something that has sprung up overnight. One firm at least has spent over fifty years selling steel ploughs in the Far East. The success of their efforts will be confirmed by any of the older farmers who can remember the hard work and small yields that were their lot when they used the old type of wooden earth scuffler. It is, of course, no use offering any machine to a farmer unless you are quite certain that it is going to carry out the tasks for which he buys it. The more spectacular tests such as those carried out in the Polar Regions and in world ploughing matches are well-known, but it is worth considering what lies behind a British machine before it is put on the market.

Let us assume that market research has shown the need for a machine and a firm has decided to make it, outline requirements and budget limits are agreed and one of their design staff is put in charge of the project. He will be a member of the Institution of British Agricultural Engineers. This is a professional body set up with the assistance of the industry to maintain professional standards among agricultural engineers. It is now independent of the industry from an executive point of view to ensure that it sets high standards with no outside interference. Its board of governors comprises such people as Professors of Agricultural Science consulting engineers, agronomists and economists. Its diploma is a passport to a world where the holder is among his technical and ethical peers.

When the machine has reached the prototype stage it will be handed over to the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering testing establishment at Silsoe. This is a government testing station. Its reports and advice on the machine are as independent of the manufacturers as are the qualifications of

the man who designed it. When it reaches Silsoe the machine can, if need be, be put to work in clay, or sandy scrub land or rocky soil, in conditions of heat, dampness and cold and even, if need be, in a specially constructed paddy field. If the machine has a motor it can, after it has finished its trials in England, be sent to another Government testing station, such as that at Nakurn in Kenya, for tests at high altitude and in tropical conditions. Finally, before it goes on to the market, it is given field trials under actual working conditions. Agents and service personnel are trained and supplies of spares are arranged. Except for major machines markets are usually opened one after the other so that production can be built up in stages.

When a farmer buys a machine the workmanship and special steels that are used in it, in fact everything down to its finish, has taken anything up to three years or more from the drawing board to the farm. The extent to which these activities affect the life of the individual inhabitant of the Far East is at first not easy to assess. A quick survey would seem to indicate that the answer should be "very little, if at all" but that is far from the truth. British exports of mechanised farm implements of all sorts show a rising curve accelerating both as their advantages conquer tradition and as the farmers who have invested in mechanisation find their profits rising as a result and are able to invest in further mechanisation.

It must be clearly understood that mechanisation of agriculture does not stop at the mere ploughing of land. Tea harvesters are a comparatively recently introduced machine that mechanises one of the most delicate of all manual agricultural operations. Arborescences to kill unwanted young trees in timber areas and so improve the quality of valuable trees; pesticides for use against the insect parasites that attack such things as sugar, bananas, coffee, cotton and coconut plantations; fungicides to kill the various blights that spoil the quality of crops, and sometimes the crops themselves are all discoveries of the chemical industry. But they are both wasteful and useless if they are not properly applied and the difficulties of application have been overcome by agricultural engineers.

Spraying equipment now available includes flexible booms attached direct to a tractor, multi-line sprayers working off tractor-carried compressors, and through a complete range of sizes to a small sprayer that can be carried on a man's back. Nozzles vary from some that will direct one small jet with great accuracy, to those that will produce a cloud of death-dealing pesticide far enough away from the operator to ensure his complete safety. Tractors range from the crawling monsters used for earth moving and forestry work to light, simple machines which, although they only weigh some fifty pounds, will produce a fine tilth down to a depth of more than six inches in one operation. The value of these latter as an aid to small scale farming can be judged from the rate at which they have been sold in Japan since their introduction there.

The tractor type of rotary hoe has been developed so that it is now in use in paddy fields and for cultivating jute. Other versions of this type can be used for weeding such crops as maize and sugar cane. After these crops have been harvested a rotary hoe can be put into the field and, as it ploughs it, it will chop the remaining stumps so that they become a good manure instead of a back-breaking nuisance.

There are grain driers available that will dry grain to a set percentage of moisture content. The grain can be either in bulk or in sacks. Some driers, working off bottled gas, can be transported by hand, and if grain has to be stored for a considerable time there are machines that will treat it so that it

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A lot of the drudgery of farm work has been taken out of life in both Europe, Australia and America by the use of the combine harvester. The land tenure systems of the Far East are in themselves sufficient to restrict its use in this part of the world as it requires to be used over a large area to be economical. Finding large new areas of farming land has long been one of the major problems of the Far East and the increase in mechanisation will certainly increase the urgency of this problem. One of the more facile arguments made against the principle of the mechanisation of Far Eastern agriculture is that it will lead to the displacement of rural populations by reducing the amount of labour required. This atavistic attitude supports itself by stressing the difficulties of bringing more land into cultivation. It ignores the fact that land clearance, drainage, and irrigation, are matters where agricultural engineering is showing many of its more outstanding successes.

One of the achievements of British Agricultural Engineering that has taken longest to develop is now available to tackle the problem of scrub clearance. It is a variant of the flail tank that was used to beat tracts through minefields during the war. As an attachment to a tractor this machine will now cut its way easily through heavy scrub. Another type, like a heavy duty forage harvester will clear lighter scrub at more than walking pace. Polythene piping can be laid by tractor either underground or above ground. An irrigation system can be installed at a fraction of the cost of digging canals and with no wastage of water. The same mole plough that lays the pipe behind a tractor can be used to drain swamp land. Fertiliser spreaders that can lay anything from one cwt. to seven tons of fertiliser to the acre are available to sweeten the land. To sow the seed there are drills from the small hand operated machine to electrically operated ones that space the seeds to their final growing position and give each its exactly measured quota, of fertiliser.

While the Agricultural Engineers' Association does not include manufacturers of farm buildings among its full members, they are in continual and close contact with them. In many instances the milling machinery, pelleting machines, grass drying plants and so on that the industry supplies to the world at large have to be made to fit specific buildings.

Although the industry is now exporting at a rate of much more than £100 million a year, and is not only Britain's fifth largest exporter, but the largest of its type in the world, it had never, until the Brussels Exhibition exhibited anywhere as an industry. Since entering this field it has already been asked to exhibit at five other exhibitions that are being planned in places as far apart as Peking and South America. While this is being considered, so are plans to increase trade by helping smaller firms to enter export markets.

The idea is that groups making complementary types of equipment should form cooperative export teams. Naturally this entails considerable market research and organisation before it can get under way, but discussions have already taken place for teams to enter the markets of India and Pakistan, the Far East and Canada. When they are finally in being, the range of British Agricultural machinery available to the markets of the world will be almost as wide as that available to British farmers. What this implies for the future can be gained from the fact that the mechanised farmers of the small island of Britain produce more food than the whole continent of Australia.

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COLOMBO PLAN MUTUAL AID SCHEME

IN 1958, the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Scheme completed its eighth year. In a report published last month, the Council for Technical Cooperation stated that the Scheme has, by and large, been notably successful and effective in helping to promote the economic and social development of countries of the area and to raise living standards of many millions of people in South and South-East Asia. Yet, the Council believes that Colombo Plan Governments cannot afford to be complacent. "In spite of what has been done by national effort and internal aid, the process of development in many of the countries of South and South-East Asia is still only near its beginning. As the pace of development increases, the need for trained personnel of all sorts is likely to expand enormously, and it will be necessary not only to maintain the flow of technical assistance from external sources at its highest level, but also to make sure that the technical assistance that can, in fact, be made available in the area is used to maximum advantage." In Pakistan, for example, roughly 40,000 skilled workmen would be needed for schemes for large-scale industry and water and power development, besides 5,000 technical supervisors.

By the end of 1957, the total expenditure incurred on technical assistance under the Scheme had amounted to £9,776,843, as compared with a total of £6,791,492 at the end of the previous year, an increase of almost £3,000,000 during 1957.

The number of training places made available from the inception of the Scheme to the end of June, 1958 was 6,886, of which 2,077 were provided by the United Kingdom, 2,225 by Australia, 940 by Canada, 718 by India and 552 by New Zealand.

The proportion of training places provided by countries within the area to other member-countries has risen significantly, from 11 percent in 1956/57 to 20 percent in 1957/58.

Of the total number of training places provided, the largest number of awards has gone to India (1,252) followed by Pakistan, 1,158; Indonesia, 916; Ceylon, 905; Burma, 571; Malaya, 488; Nepal, 478; the Philippines, 257, and Thailand, 255. In spite of a falling-off in the number of new training places, expenditure on this sector of the Scheme shows a continued rise: this is attributed to the provision of longer or more expensive courses for trainees.

Of 1,002 experts whose services have been provided, the United Kingdom's share, to the middle of 1958, was 315. Australia provided 285, Canada, 170, Japan, 115, and New Zealand, 89. Of 221 experts actually in the field on June 30th, 1958, there were 58 in Ceylon, 32 in Indonesia, 26 in Malaya, 23 in North Borneo, 17 in Burma, 11 in Thailand and 10 each in Singapore and Viet Nam.

The total expenditure on equipment during the seven years in which the Scheme has been in operation is £2,075,712, of which the United Kingdom's share was £1,047,088.

Among examples of external aid in the development of training facilities quoted by the report, are the provision by the United Kingdom of equipment for a Technical College at Phnom-Penh (Cambodia) and for a College at Katmandu (Nepal); the provision of the services of a London firm of consulting architects to plan the lay-out of a new site for the University of Lahore; equipment for the Pakistan Government's Institute of Technology at Lahore; an expert to assist in the organisation of an Administrative Staff College in India, on the lines of the College at Henley-on-Thames; equipment for the Philippines School of Arts and Trades at Manila, and for other trade schools; equipment for a Fisheries Training Centre in Thailand and for various departments and laboratories of the University of Saigon, in Viet Nam.

In a reference to increasing emphasis on mutual aid, the report states that the number of training places made available within the area rose to 260, as against 161 in the previous year, and also notes a new development, with members within the region beginning to assist those outside. "This interesting development, which has been initiated through the granting of training facilities to Australia and Japan by India and Pakistan in the fields of statistics, railway operating and signalling, and political science, points up the potential growth of the Technical Cooperation Scheme into a programme involving the mutual exchange of technical knowledge among member countries both inside and outside the area, to their mutual benefit and self-respect."

Throughout its eight years of operation, the Technical Cooperation Scheme has combined its efforts with those of other technical assistance programmes and agencies. The report cites the Mekong Project as an example. The River Mekong runs through Laos, Thailand, Cambodia and South Viet Nam and affects the lives of 17 million people. The UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, the UN Technical Assistance Board, and the governments of the four countries through which the River flows are working together in a programme of technical surveys of potential development, and the programme is being aided by the United States, by New Zealand (as part of her contribution to the Colombo Plan), by France, by the United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Programme, by the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation and by Canada, also under the Colombo Plan.

Other examples are a marine diesel engine training centre

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at Rangoon, organised by the International Labour Organisation at the request of ECAFE, and provided with equipment by the UK and Japan, under the Colombo Plan, which trains diesel mechanics for the Colombo Plan area; and the Gal Oya Project in Ceylon, which is being developed with the help of Colombo Plan capital and technical aid from the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, India, Japan, New Zealand and the United Nations.

SCOTTISH INDUSTRIES AND ASIA

SCOTTISH industries and merchant houses have well-established contacts with countries of South-East Asia of long standing, and have participated in the development of Asian economies, including the rubber and jute fields. In recent years Scottish manufacturers of capital goods have found an important outlet for their products in that area. The UK total statistics do not give a breakdown showing what proportion of the exports comes from Scotland, but it is well-known that it constitutes a fair share. In fact, the traffic between Scotland and Asia has become of such importance that P. & O. Far Eastern Freight Services have established a direct link between Grangemouth and the Far East, thus supplementing the services existing between Glasgow and Asia. The recent liberalisation of export restrictions to China has aroused new interest among Scottish manufacturers, particularly in the Chinese market as some of them had an extensive trade with this market before the war.

The Clyde represents a highly important centre of Britain's shipbuilding industry and many vessels for Asian clients and for UK shipping companies whose ships ply between the UK and Asia have been built on the Clyde. Only recently a 300ft. frigate, "Kirpan," was launched at the Alexander Stephen and Sons Ltd., of Glasgow, shipyards for the Indian navy. Specialised shipbuilders Fleming and Ferguson Ltd., Paisley, and Simons & Co. Ltd., Renfrew, supply dredgers, hopper barges, salvage vessels and tugs, to various port authorities and other clients in Asia and the Far East.

A comparatively young industry in Scotland is the aircraft industry, and in this field Scottish Aviation Ltd. has been able to secure orders from the Malayan Government, Ceylon, Dutch New Guinea, and other countries.

Scotland is the centre of the sugar machinery industry, and the Glasgow company, Mirrlees Watson Co. Ltd., are supplying a sugar factory to the Gal Oya Development Board in Ceylon which will grind 2,000 tons of cane a day. We understand that Mavor & Coulson Ltd. have important contracts from India which is one of their principal markets for mining machinery and mechanical handling equipment. Hydraulic cranes built by Lambert Engineering Co. (Glasgow) Ltd., are being supplied to the Durgapur Steel Mills now under construction by the ISCON consortium. Steel wire ropes for an aerial ropeway in India have been delivered by British Ropes Ltd., Rutherglen, while the Coatbridge firm, Martin, Black and Co. (Wire Ropes) Ltd., supply wire ropes to Japan.

A large number of the UK biscuit factories are situated in Scotland. UK total exports of cereals and cereal preparations, including biscuits, have reached the value of £7.5 million during the first 8 months of 1958, as against £6.6 million during the corresponding period of 1957. The 1958 exports included those to India—£35,564; Singapore—£270,247; Federation of Malaya—£179,574; Ceylon—£184,863; Hong Kong—£91,675; Burma—£20,118.

Many visitors from various countries in the East have been in Scotland during recent months. They included the Secretary of the Burmese Ministry of Industries; members of Parliament and senior officials from Indonesia led by Mr. Idris and Mr. Afandi; Sheikh Mujibur Rahman from East Pakistan, and journalists from various countries.

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INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL NOTES

MALAYA'S FINANCE MINISTER ADVOCATES COMMONWEALTH FINANCE INSTITUTION

Colonel H. S. Lee, Malaya's Finance Minister, on his way from the Montreal Commonwealth Economic Conference to Malaya, declared in London that he had advocated the establishing of a Commonwealth Finance Institution which could effectively supplement the activities of the World Bank. The new Commonwealth Institution would have the backing of all Commonwealth State Banks and would attract money for development purposes from investors outside the Commonwealth countries too. It would be a great advantage if loans granted to underdeveloped countries could be repaid in local currencies. Due to the sharp drop of commodity prices (rubber and tin), Malaya needed foreign loans. The execution of development projects in Malaya would be carried out at a slower pace than originally anticipated, and this year no new development projects would be started. Only the work on those projects which was already in progress will be continued. Colonel Lee was in favour of

international agreements which would provide for a stability of commodity prices and would prevent wild fluctuations of quotations which had a very adverse effect on the entire economy of primary products countries.

MALAYA'S HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT

An agreement was signed in London last month for a loan of £500,000 by Commonwealth Development Finance Company Ltd. to the Central Electricity Board of Malaya towards the cost of its new hydro-electric scheme in the Cameron Highlands in Central Malaya.

The Malayan High Commissioner signed on behalf of the Federation of Malaya; Mr. O. A. Spencer on behalf of the Central Electricity Board; and Mr. A. S. G. Hoar on behalf of Commonwealth Development Finance Company Limited.

This loan, which was mentioned in the announcement of the parallel loan made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the same purpose in September, is guaranteed by the Government of the Federation of Malaya.

BIG COAL DRESSING PLANT IN OPERATION IN CHINA

A big modern coal dressing plant—the central coal dressing plant of the Shuan-yashan coal administration—went into operation last month. It will be able to handle 1½ million tons of coal annually, turning out 1,600,000 tons of dressed coking coal.

SINO-TUNISIAN TRADE

The first Sino-Tunisian trade agreement was signed in Tunis last month.

The agreement provides for exchange of goods on the basis of equilibrium of exports and imports between the two countries to a total of around 9 million Swiss francs each way. China will export tea, textile, silk fabric, newsprint machines, vehicles and other items. Tunisia will export phosphate, olive oil, lead ingots.

CANADIAN WHEAT FOR INDIA

The purchase of approximately 141,000 tons of Canadian wheat to the value of \$8.8m., has been completed by the India Supply Mission with the Canadian Wheat Board.

The Industrialist speaks . . .

(continued from page 39)

TOOL STEELS FOR CHINA

MR. G. Edwards, Managing Director of Joseph Gillott & Sons, Sheffield, manufacturers of tool steels, told EASTERN WORLD that he considers that China represents the largest potential market of the future. In connection with China's rapid development of steel production and her plans for further increases in output, Mr. Edwards feels that China will require, at a steadily increasing rate, tool steels which his Company can supply. The liberalisation of the embargo has now made these exports possible. In the past two valuable orders which he had secured from the Chinese buying organisations had remained unfulfilled, due to the previous restrictions.

Mr. Edwards emphasised his Company's desire to cooperate with the Chinese in every way for the development of mutual

trade, as he considered free trade as a great asset for the promotion of confidence and good relations between countries. Mr. Edwards also referred to the fact that the Chinese are paying promptly and that he had the highest respect for their commercial practices.

LIBERALISATION OF EMBARGO

MR. A. B. Davies, Joint Managing Director of Sturtevant Engineering Co. Ltd., London, E.C.4, commenting to EASTERN WORLD on the prospects of trade with Asian and Far Eastern countries, including China, since the relaxation of restrictions, is of the opinion that there are good opportunities for the marketing of several of his Company's products.

This is especially so in the agricultural chemical field, where his Company have done so much work at home and in the Commonwealth in the fertiliser and lime industries. According to his opinion, there should also be opportunities for the sale of fans and ancillary equipment for the light and heavy industries of these Asian countries.

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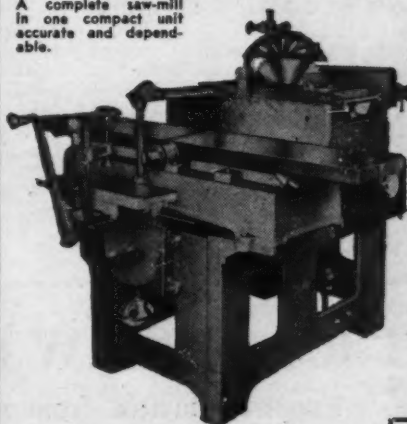
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ELECTRIC POWER INDUSTRY DEVELOPS FAST IN CHINA

New power stations going into operation this year will give China's electric power industry an additional capacity of 1,400,000 kilowatts, twice as much as was added last year. In addition, thousands of small rural power houses with a total capacity of 200,000 kilowatts are being built throughout the country and will also be put into operation within the year.

In preparation for still greater development, 177 large and medium hydro-electric and steam power stations with a combined capacity of 22,000,000 kilowatts have gone into construction this year, to be completed in the next few years. This fast development is need because this industry must keep ahead of others if these are to grow rapidly.

Some of the large ones under construction involve wide areas, comprehensive utilisation of resources and complicated technique. These are within the province of the Ministry of Water Conservancy and Electric Power or under joint administration by central and local authorities. Such projects are generally located in areas rich in water power or coal and mainly cater for big industrial centres and cities. But though they have great economic value and form the backbone of the power grids, they cannot fully satisfy the needs of the medium and small industrial enterprises now being built everywhere.

Therefore, while efforts are being concentrated on the big power projects, there is a great campaign to construct medium and small power stations with capacities ranging from several hundred k.w. up to 10,000 k.w. and these are now being put up in great numbers by the area and county authorities.

Smaller rural power houses, with some scores or hundreds of k.w. capacity, are being built all over the country by farm cooperatives, using wind, steam, water, methane, gas or tidal power. In many places peasants have discovered the way to use a very small drop in water levels, of one or two metres, or even flowing water to generate electricity. Simple wood turbine generators have been turned

out in a great variety, to facilitate rapid development of rural electrification. (Peasants in a village near Tientsin built a 75 k.w. power station at a dam in only 22 days at a cost of only 4,000 yuan).

A recent conference on rural hydro-electric power stations estimated that, before long, rural electric power stations alone would have a total capacity of 15 to 18 million k.w., enabling most of the farm and processing work to be done by electricity.

CHINA'S HEAVY MACHINE TOOLS PLANT

China's biggest heavy machine tools plant went into construction last month in Shanghai. The new plant will turn out scores of thousands of tons of heavy and super-heavy high grade precision machine tools, when it is completed in 1959. The first stage of the project will be finished before the end of this year.

China's first heavy machine tools plant, which was completed and went into operation in July, is in Wuhan.

PAKISTAN-JAPAN TRADE AGREEMENT

A trade agreement between Pakistan and Japan was recently signed in Tokyo. It will be valid for one year from 1st September. Japanese exports to Pakistan will include textiles, iron and steel and other metals, capital goods and machinery, chemicals and dyes and miscellaneous articles. Raw cotton, jute, hides and skins, salt and other articles will be imported by Japan from Pakistan.

INDIAN HIGH-GRADE WOOL SOON

India might soon be in a position to produce superior wool for the manufacture of tweeds. At present, all the country's requirements for producing woollen apparel and worsted cloth are met by imports which cost India Rs 15 million in foreign exchange.

Research done by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research has shown that by breeding fine wool sheep in the Himalayan region, a beginning for producing

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superior wool suitable for tweeds could immediately be made.

Development projects for improving sheep breeds to produce quality wool have already been undertaken in Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bombay.

The wool that India at present produces is mostly carpet wool, more than half of which is exported. The majority of this clip is mostly produced in Rajasthan, Northern Bombay and Punjab, and earns for the country more than Rs. 90 million. Development of a few specific qualities of this wool which comparatively contain less hair has already been taken up at 72 centres in Rajasthan. Those centres provide such facilities as raising the stock of high-quality sheep and rams and suitable measures to check sheep diseases.

CHINA — THE BIGGEST MARKET OF UK WOOL TOP INDUSTRY

During the first 8 months of 1958, UK exports of wool tops to China reached 12 million lb. to the value of £4.7 million as against 4.1 million lb. valued at £1.9 million during the corresponding period last year. In 1958 China was the biggest market of this UK industry, the total exports of which amounted to 60.3 million lb. valued at £26.7 million. Thus the Chinese share of the total exports amounted to 20 percent in volume.

UK exports of wool tops to other Asian and Far Eastern markets developed as follows:—

	1957 £	1958 £
India	3,941,734	3,838,331
Pakistan	962,861	642,749
Hong Kong	470,395	106,628
Japan	2,505,426	1,140,956

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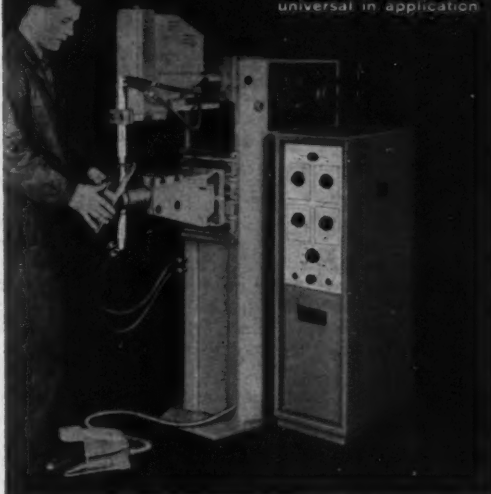
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PAKISTAN'S STEEL PLANT

Pakistan has finalised the scheme for setting up a steel plant at Multan. It is based on the Krupp-Renn Process, and involves a total expenditure of Rs. 170.3 million. The steel plant is expected to be completed in four years, and will have a

production capacity of 69,000 tons of steel billets per year.

PAKISTAN'S TEA EXPORTS

The amount of foreign exchange earned by Pakistan from the export of tea during the last three years was Rs. 24.3 million in 1957-58, Rs. 51.4 million in 1956-57

and Rs. 34.2 million in 1955-56.

The former Commerce Minister, Sardar Abdur Rashid, stating this in the National Assembly before the latter was dissolved, said that the amount of foreign capital invested in the tea plantations was approximately Rs. 120 million.

Glass Making in Pakistan

WITH sand, lime and soda readily available as raw materials, Hyderabad, Sind, has become the centre of Pakistan's new glass-making industry. Three glass factories, all of them using natural gas, have been established and are now working 24 hours a day. Bottles, tumblers, biscuit jars, lamp chimneys, coloured ornaments—in fact almost all kinds of glass except sheet and small precision articles—are now being turned out in quantity. Even the managers had little or no previous experience of this industry—one started production experimentally with only 40 bottles a day, but now has a plant that can produce upwards of 5,000 a day. The workers, too, have rapidly picked up the techniques involved.

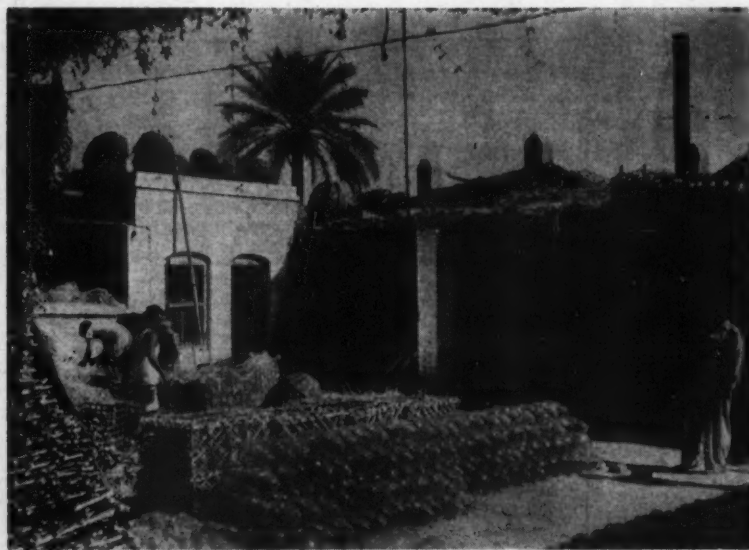
One of the striking features of the Hyderabad glass industry is the extent to which, because of the cheapness of labour, operations are carried out by hand. Jars, lamp chimneys and other standardised products in quantity production are usually hand blown; boys of 10 or 12 carry red hot tubes and bubbles of glass, held above their heads on poles, from one hand operation to the next. Grinding and smoothing is often carried out with a foot treadle. In one factory a tumbler-moulding machine employing four men is in operation alongside a group of 12 men making tumblers by hand. But the plant manager has

found that it costs him some ten times more to produce the machine-moulded tumbler. He explained that only the machine-made product's greater size and strength (which is reflected in a higher selling price) justifies him in keeping the machine in operation.

The factory of the Pakistan Glass Company is typical of the way in which the economic life of Hyderabad has adapted itself to the needs of a new age. It lies at the point where a dusty road out of Hyderabad disappears into the desert. Its approaches are crowded with camels and donkeys that are used to bring in materials and take away finished products. To minimise the difficulties of transportation the owner decided to specialise in the production of bangles and other small glass ornaments beloved of Pakistani women. Before Partition this industry was concentrated in Ferozabad in India—and in fact a large measure of the factory's success is owed to the fact that it drew many of its key workers from that town. But the company is now firmly established as a major supplier to both East and West Pakistan. Since starting production in 1949 the factory has continually added to its scale of operations; it can now produce more than 100,000 ornaments a day. Since early in 1956 its ten furnaces have all used gas. (In order to accomplish the change-over from furnace oil to gas with the least possible delay, even the burners were improvised in the factory).

While the fuel and much of the equipment in the factory are typically modern, Pakistan Glass relies on the ancient cottage industry system for a number of the processes. The bangles, after being formed in a long spiral around a rod and separated with a modern glass-cutter, are sent out to families in the area for finishing. Children seal each ring over a kerosene flame, and decoration is added by hand. The split-bamboo cases in which the products are packed in straw and sold are made by hand by women working in the street outside the factory gate.

The payment for this outside work is very small—for instance, 8 annas a gross for sealing bangles. But the low production costs are reflected in correspondingly low prices on the products. The simplest bangles sell at only Rs. 3.7 a gross, while the most ornate gold-finished variety fetch 2 annas each. Moreover, the new cottage industries introduced by this and other factories in Hyderabad can give a new earning power to time that would otherwise be idle, empty and unproductive. It is true that the conditions of work in these factories today reveal many of the hardships and hazards that in an earlier age marred the transition to industrial life in Europe and North America. But, as in these earlier examples, the transition holds a great promise of higher production and better living in the future.



Bottles, tumblers, biscuit jars, lamp chimneys and a variety of other glass products are being made with the help of natural gas that is now being piped to the city of Hyderabad in the Sind Desert of West Pakistan. The gas was discovered in the mountains of Baluchistan five years ago and reaches Karachi and Hyderabad through a 350-mile, 16-inch pipeline built with the help of a World Bank loan of £5 million (\$14 million). Gas consumption in Hyderabad and other areas served by the newly-formed Indus Gas Company now amounts to 11 million cubic feet a day; the new fuel is meeting all the needs of cement, glass, textile, seed-crushing and other industrial plants.

TENDERS

The Office of the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:—

"D.G.S. & D. Tender No.: PROJECT/SE/2227-J/11." For the supply of 27,000 K.V.A. 11 KV/132KV Power Transformers with Spares, Circuit Breakers, etc., for 132 KV Set-up Station Equipment for Hirakud Power House No. 11. Specifications, drawings, etc. relative to the above can be obtained from India Store Department, Co-ordination Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3 at 15s. per copy. Tenders are to be returned direct to Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, to reach them by 1 p.m. on 28th NOVEMBER, 1958.

Specimen copy of the above specification is on view at India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London, W.3 under reference S.3647/58/AVH/ENG.2.

INDIAN RAILWAYS

The General Manager, Northeast Frontier Railway invites tenders from competent and experienced Contractors for the design, manufacture, supply, erection and maintenance for a period of one year of simply supported steel lattice girders for the proposed Brahmaputra bridge at Amingaon having 10 spans of 397ft. centre to centre of bearings and 2 spans of 104ft. 9in. centre to centre of bearings, carrying 2 lines of Metre Gauge Main Line Railway on lower deck and 24ft. wide road on upper deck with 2 cantilevered footpaths each 6ft. wide. The approximate value of contract is Rs.2.0 crores. The actual erection at site should be planned for commencement in 1960 and the whole work completed by November, 1961.

2. The tender papers can be purchased from the Office of the Engineer-in-Chief, Northeast Frontier Railway, Kurseong, West Bengal from 1.10.58 to 31.12.58 on payment in cash or by money order of an

unrefundable sum of Rs.40/- per copy (£3).

3. In addition to the Tender papers, Contractors not in possession of the Indian Railways' and North Eastern Railway's Standard Specification, Rules, Codes, Conditions of Contract, etc., to which references will occur in the Tender papers, may need to purchase these Standard reference books at a lump sum cost of Rs.50/- (£3 15s.) paid in cash or by money order.

4. Detailed offer should be submitted to the Engineer-in-Chief, Survey and Construction, Northeast Frontier Railway, Kurseong by February 1959. The exact date will be notified later.

5. Tenderers will have to deposit a sum of Rs.1,00,000/- (£7,500) as Earnest Money at the time of submission of tender.

6. Tenderers should submit along with their offers full details of the capacity of their fabricating shops, a brief description of the equipment, layout and labour force, and authenticated documents in support of (i) their experience in works of this magnitude and (ii) the class and size of jobs executed by them for the National Railways of their country or for foreign railways.

Engineer-in-Chief, Kurseong,
for General Manager,
Northeast Frontier Railway.

The Office of the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, invites tenders for the following:—

"D.G.S. & D. Tender No. SE-7/3223-J/1."

"For the Supply of Crawler Tractors, Earth Moving and Land Clearing Equipment and Farm Implements."

Specifications, drawings, etc., relative to the above, can be purchased from the Co-ordination Department, India Store Department, Government Buildings, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3, per copy under reference S/3718/58/CDN. Tenders are to be returned direct to the Director General, Supplies and Disposals, Shahjahan Road, New Delhi, India, to reach them by:—

FRIDAY, 28th NOVEMBER, 1958.

The Office of the Chief Engineer, Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, invite tenders for the following:—

(a) **"Tender Enquiry No. 16/E.P. 3/02295/58 for the supply of: Universal Excavator with 4 stroke Diesel Engine having Dragline and Clamshell attachment are required with a minimum working radius of 35ft. and of 1½ cu. yard capacity."**

(b) **"Tender Enquiry No. 16/E.P.3/02558/58 for the supply of Two Passenger Lifts with a load capacity of 1800 lbs. and four Passenger Lifts of 640 lbs. are required for a total lift of 60ft. approx."**

Specifications, drawings, etc., relative to the above can be obtained direct from the Deputy Chief Accounts Officer (Engineering) Chief Engineer's Office, Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, on payment of £1 2s. 6d. per Set per Tender which is not refundable. Tenders are to be returned direct to the Chief Engineer's Office (at "C" Warehouse) Madras Port Trust, Madras, India, so as to reach them by 3 p.m. on 30th OCTOBER, 1958 and 27th NOVEMBER, 1958 respectively.

Specimen copy of the above Specification can be seen at "India Store Department," Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3, under reference S.3732/58/AVH/ENG.2 and S.3729/58/AVH/ENG.2 respectively.

The India Supply Mission, Washington, invites tender for the supply of:

6 units of Railway Van Refrigeration Unit.

Forms of tender may be obtained from the Director General, India Store Department, Government Building, Bromyard Avenue, Acton, London W.3, at a fee of 5/- which is not refundable. Tenders are to be posted direct to India Supply Mission, 2536 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. Washington 8, D.C., to reach there by 15th NOVEMBER, 1958.

Please quote reference No. S.375/7/58/Rly.

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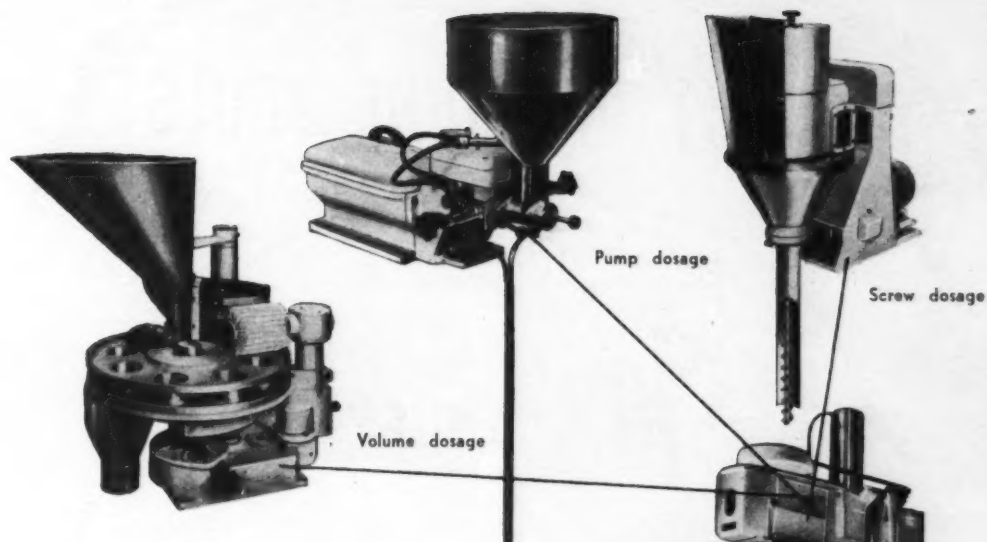


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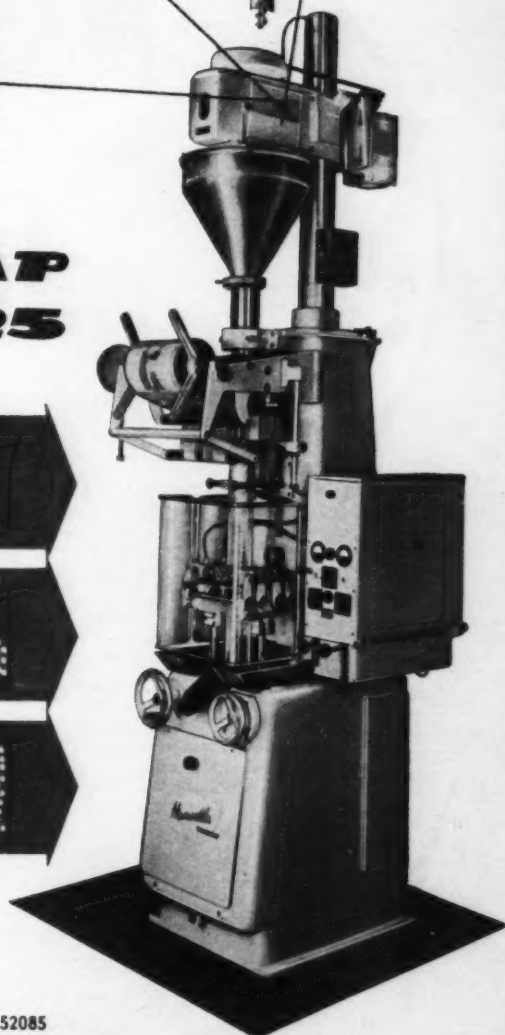
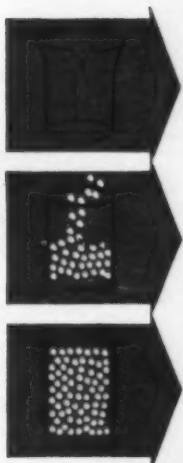
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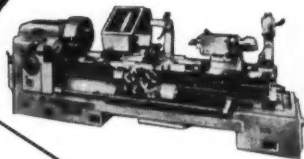
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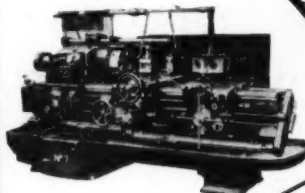
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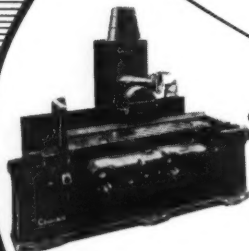
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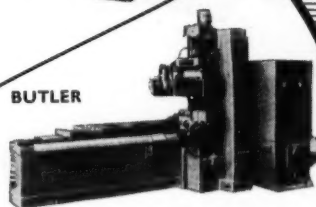
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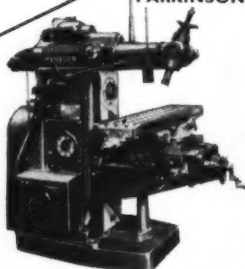
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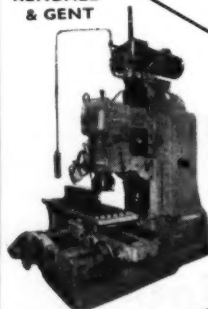
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